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EDITED BY

EDWARD I. SEARS, A. M., LL. D.

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[U] For particulars see Catalogue.

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- ART. I.—1. *An Introduction to the Atomic Theory.* By CHARLES DAUBENY, M.D., F. R. S. Oxford : 1850.
2. *Handbuch der Chemie.* Von LEOPOLD GMELIN. Vierte umgearbeitete und vermehrte Auflage. V. Band, 8vo. Heidelberg : 1850.
3. *A Treatise on Poisons.* By ROBERT CHRISTISON, M.D., F. R. S. E. Fourth edition. 8vo. Edinburgh : 1845.
4. *Cours de Chimie Générale.* Par J. PELOUZE ET E. FREMY. 3 tomes, grand 8vo. Paris : 1850.
5. *Geschichte der Chemie.* Von Dr. HERMANN KOPP. 4 Bänden, gr. 8vo. 1843-1847.
6. *Chemical Technology, or Chemistry applied to the Arts and to Manufactures.* By F. KNAPP. 3 vols. 8vo. 1848-1850.
7. *Lehrbuch der Physiologischen Chemie.* Von Prof. Dr. C. G. LEHMANN. Zweiter Band, 8vo. Leipzig : 1850.
8. *Arsberättelser om Framstegen i Physik och Kemi.* Af J. J. BERZELIUS. 27 delar band. Stockholm : 1821 till 1848.
9. *Ampère, Essais d'une classification naturelle des corps simples, dans les Annales de physique de chimie 2^e série, t. I et II.*
10. *Annales de Chimie et de Physique,* par MM. GAY-LUSSAC, ARAGO, CHEVREUL, DUMAS, PELOUZE, BOUSSINGAULT. Paris, 1840. C'est la 3^e série aujourd' hui en cours de publication.
11. *BERZELIUS, Traité de chimie minérale, végétale et animale.* (2^e édition française), traduit par MM. HOEFER et ESSLINGER ; & vol. in 3^e. Paris, Didot, 1845.
12. *Elements of Practical Chemistry ; comprising a Series of Experiments in every Department of Chemistry, with Directions for performing them.* By DAVID BOSWELL REID. 8vo. Edinburgh : 1827.

THERE is no better remedy for vanity and arrogance than the study of nature. Nothing else teaches us so well how much

there is of which we must always be ignorant, nor is there anything so well calculated to inspire us with exalted ideas of the Creator. But abstract speculation is not sufficient; indeed this often does more harm than good; not unfrequently does it produce vices still worse than those we have named. In illustration of this we need only mention Lucretius and the Baron d'Holback, whose atheistical works would never have been written had they studied the operations of nature, instead of speculating from false premises on her works. No student of hers, worthy of the name, has ever entertained such ideas. Most of the commentators on Aristotle agree that the Stagirite had no very definite views of the Deity until he had made some progress in his Natural History; but that this confirmed him not only in his belief in the existence of God, but also in that of the immortality of the soul. Among the Romans, those who had most faith in the Author of the universe, and most admiration for his works, were Pliny and Seneca, each of whom was a devoted student of nature. And have not the students of the natural sciences been similarly distinguished in modern times? Who had less vanity, or arrogance than Buffon, Cuiver, Lavoisier, Priestly, Berzelius, Newton, Leibnitz, Gay-Lussac, Arago? or who entertained a higher reverence for the Great Artificer?

But if the study of nature produces these purifying and ennobling effects on the mind, they must be produced in the highest degree by that science which gives us the deepest insight into her operations; and what intelligent person need be told that the science which does this is chemistry? It is precisely because the true chemist is so free from vanity and arrogance, that we know so little of what the ancient chemists have contributed to civilization and human comfort. Other causes have, indeed, had their influence in depriving us of this knowledge. The most prominent of these we will take occasion to speak of as we proceed, but it will be seen that they are of a secondary character; although even they would show that we reason very illogically in assuming that because we are ignorant of what the laboratory produced in ancient times, it follows that what we call chemistry was not known among the ancients. None appreciate more than we the discoveries that have been made in chemistry during the last three hundred years; none are more glad to admit that there are many of these whose value is far too great to be estimated from the vast addition they have made to human happiness. It will afford us pleasure to point out the most

important, and to invoke the gratitude of our readers for the thoughtful, patient, laborious men—most of them men of true genius—who discovered them. But it will detract nothing from the honor due to the most illustrious, to inquire whether there were not also great chemists among the ancients no matter by what name they were known.

It is true that were we to judge by the amount of information on the subject that has reached our times, without bestowing any further thought upon it, we should conclude that even the Greeks and Romans possessed but little knowledge of chemistry if indeed they possessed any of a scientific character. But we should bear in mind that no works are more likely to be lost in the lapse of time than scientific treatises. How few of such do we possess at the present day that can be proved to be really ancient? Certainly not half a dozen. On the natural sciences there is scarcely one except some fragments found in the sacred books of the Hindoos; yet there is sufficient circumstantial evidence to show that there is not one of the ancient nations that has left us any vestiges of its greatness which did not devote more or less attention to the science of chemistry.

One reason why the contrary opinion is entertained even by many learned men is that the chemists of antiquity used a symbolical language, and for various reasons had no disposition to publish their discoveries; but, on the contrary, did all they could to conceal them. It is the fashion at the present day to smile at the simplicity of the ancients because they supposed there were but five elements, namely, earth, water, air, fire, and ether. This was the opinion among the Hindoos and Egyptians, and it was fully adopted by the philosophers of Greece.

This fact alone should cause us to pause before we denounced the theory of the five elements as puerile; since we cannot deny that whatever the Greeks have left us is the best of its kind. They have left us the best specimens of literature both in poetry and prose; the best specimens of the fine arts; the best specimens of oratory, &c. All admit that they were a highly cultivated and thoughtful people; is it logical then to assume that they knew little or nothing of chemistry as a science? The works of Aristotle and Plato alone would vindicate the Greeks against any such charge.

But to return to "the five elements." These had a significance in ancient times which is not now understood; they meant much more than they do with us. In the language of the

Vedas, where they are first mentioned, they are known under the symbolical name of the *panchouam*, which corresponds with the five attributes of Brama, who is regarded as the master of the universe. The Hindoo philosophers also identified the names of the elements with certain parts of the human body. It was in accordance with the same mystic symbolism that they regarded the earth as an animal which combines both sexes, and exercises at once the functions of father and mother. Even in the mineral kingdom they recognized the male and female principle, or the active and passive, which mean the same; and this too was adopted by the Greeks, who regarded arsenic as the active principle, or male, and copper as the passive principle, or female.

Is it likely that they made this distinction in regard to the metals without any knowledge of chemistry? But it is asked, Why did they regard water as an element, since it is now known to every schoolboy that it is a compound? The answer is, that what we call mercury, the ancient chemists called water; and earth and air also suggested to them very different ideas from what they do to us.

But there are yet other reasons why we should not think it so very absurd on the part of the ancients, to hold that there were only five elements. Chemists of the present day reckon from sixty-three to sixty-eight simple substances, or elements. But on what ground do they do so? Is it not merely because they have hitherto failed to decompose them? In other words, there is no process at present known by which the substances referred to can be reduced to simpler forms, and consequently it is concluded that no such exist. Is this logical? May not discoveries be yet made which will prove that even gold, or the diamond is not an elementary body, but a compound? In short, all that can be said on the subject is that, so far as is known, the bodies regarded as simple or elementary are not compounds; and the most illustrious chemists pretend to nothing more; * it is only the thoughtless and superficial who think that what they cannot see or understand does not exist.

Now let us observe the difference between the ancient and the modern idea of the elements of matter. In the In-

* "Sans doute," says Lavoisier, "ces substances, qui sont simples pour nous, seront un jour décomposées à leur tour, et nous touchons probablement à cette époque pour la terre siliceuse et pour les alcalis fixes; mais notre imagination n'a pas dû devancer les faits, et nous n'avons pas dû en dire plus que la nature ne nous en apprend."

dian drama of *Sacountala*, a Brahmin advances to the front of the stage and pronounces the following invocation: "May the master of the universe, present under these forms—water, the first of created things, the second fire, the boundless ether, the earth the nurse of every germ, the air which animates all the beings that respire it—may that benevolent God protect you forever." Then, is it not true to-day as well as in ancient times, that the animal body, which decomposes after death, is reduced to principles, some of which unite with earth, some with air, some with water, while others may burn spontaneously, as they actually do under the form of the phosphoric hydrogen so often observed in cemeteries, and the combustion of which has given rise to so many superstitious tales. And why not some particles unite with ether, since the most learned philosophers are obliged to admit such a subtle fluid, in order to account for the phenomena of light and electricity. At the present day the body is said to resolve itself into water, carbonic acid, ammonia, &c. Now, what is the difference?—is not the fundamental idea the same in both theories?

Both in Egypt and India chemistry was regarded as a sacred science. Comingens tells us that it was practised by the priests of Egypt so early as the times of Isis and Osiris, and that it derives its name from *Chemmis*, a city of the Thebiade, consecrated to Pan.

In pursuance of the same theory volumes have been written to prove that the myths and fables of Homer and Orpheus are but allegories of the sacred art.* Thus we are told that the Greek myth of Jupiter transforming himself into a shower of gold simply means the distillation of the precious metal by philosophers; that we may regard the eyes of Argus, which metamorphose themselves into a peacock's tail, as an allegory of sulphur, which under the action of fire, assumes so many different colors. Plutarch informs us that the whole theogony of Greece was nothing more nor less than the science of nature concealed under a symbolical form. By Latona he simply understands water, by Juno the earth, by Apollo the sun, and by Jupiter the universal spirit which is diffused through all nature.

Even in the time of Moses what we call chemistry was undoubtedly studied as a science. Thus Tubal Cain is spoken

* *Les fables des Egyptiens et des Grecs dévoilées*, par M. Pernety, 2 vols. 8vo; Paris, 1786.

of in the fourth chapter of Genesis as an *instructor of every artificer* in brass and iron. Then again in Exodus (32. 20) we are told that Moses took the golden calf and burned it in the fire, and ground it to a powder, and strewed it upon the water, and made the children of Israel to drink of it. All candid chemists admit that it required no slight knowledge of chemical science to operate on gold in this way.

But we do not need allusions of this kind as evidence that the ancients were acquainted with chemistry; we have sufficient proof of the fact in the few vestiges of their works which are still extant. Who can deny, for example, that the Egyptians were acquainted with sculpture, painting, gilding, glass-making, dyeing, engraving, &c.? It is only necessary for any intelligent person to examine the temples and palaces of Thebes alone, at the present day, to be satisfied of this. M. Desmerest, himself an eminent chemist, informs us that small colored enamelled tubes may be seen in Thebes, some blue and others red; enamelled potteries of various colors, vases, statues of delft, glasses, glass pastes, colored and uncolored, stucco, composed very probably like that of the French, of plaister and paste, or like that of the Romans, of marble and lime; on these stuccoes, sculptured in relief, are figures, variously painted, and which after so many centuries retain their lively colors; one may also behold mummies of men and animals of which the envelope and the members are covered with gold leaf; statues of gilt wood and bronze; cloths of linen and cotton, some without color, others dyed either in blue, with indigo, or in red with madder; and papirii on which are characters written with black ink. Houses may be seen at the present day in several cities of Egypt composed of enamelled brick, and apartments decorated with squares of China, which were gathered from the ruins of the ancient cities, and which, on account of their superior beauty, are preferred to the squares furnished by modern art.*

It is almost needless to observe that these works could not have been performed without a knowledge of chemistry. Nay, if there had not been better chemists among the Egyptians than there are among us at the present day, no such mummies as those referred to could have existed. It is true that modern chemists have some knowledge of embalming; but their system is crude and imperfect; it is as in-

*Recueil des observations et des recherches qui ont été faites en Egypt pendant l'expédition de l'armée Française. 2d edition, in 8vo. Paris, 1821. Tome IX.

ferior to the Egyptian system as an ordinary brick building in any of our cities, is to the Parthenon at Athens. Had the treatises of the Egyptians been as durable in their nature as the mummies the most arrogant and short-sighted of us could hardly have ventured to assert that they were ignorant of the great laws of nature as illustrated by the science of chemistry.

Another common habit at the present day is to regard the ancient alchemists as silly visionaries, or at best as charlatans, who made pretensions to knowledge which they did not possess, in order to impose on the vulgar. As a proof that this charge is just, it is thought sufficient to say that they were foolish enough to think they could convert the base metals into gold, and that they were devoted to various other chimeras. It is forgotten that there are some circumstances in connection with these chimeras which are not understood at the present day—we forget, for example, to ask ourselves, in our hurry to show our own superiority and glory, whether those “chimeras” were not also symbolical, or whether the philosopher’s stone was anything more than a type of the power of science. Must we not admit that if it was a symbol of this kind, it was a true one? If science does not literally transmute the base metals into the precious, is it not undeniable that it accomplishes what is virtually the same? Does not the skilful worker in brass, or even pot metal, make gold in a certain sense?

But suppose we take the account literally, who, after all, can assert that the ancients were not acquainted with some processes by which they obtained gold from metals in which it is not known to exist at the present day. Not one of the illustrious chemists of modern times has made any such assertion; on the contrary, several of them admit that real transmutation may have been accomplished by the ancient votaries of the science, but that the process has been lost, as many others have been.

Those who have devoted their exclusive attention to researches of this kind concur in the opinion that the alchemists, far from being sneered at, should be ranked among the greatest benefactors of mankind. There are several Greek manuscripts by alchemists in the imperial libraries of Paris and Vienna, of which the most remarkable are the following: One by Stephanus of Athens on the *Art of making gold*; one in nine books, entitled, *Περὶ χρυσοποιίας*, and parts of another in twenty-eight books, the title of which is *Χυμειτικά*. The

author of the latter has left us another treatise on beer-making, entitled *Περὶ ζύζων πορῆσεως*.

Guidas, who wrote in the tenth century informs us in his Lexicon that chemistry *χημεία* is the art of making gold and silver, &c., and adds, that many works on it existed in Egypt in the reign of Diocletian, who ordered them to be collected together and burned, because he was afraid that they would make the Egyptians too wealthy, as well as too wise, and consequently induce them to rebel against his domination. The same learned author is of opinion that the *Golden Fleece*, so famous in ancient story, and which excited the ambition of Jason and the Argonauts, was nothing more nor less than a treatise on chemistry, or alchemy, bound in sheepskin, which taught, among other arts, that of *making gold*. The science is spoken of in several authentic works of the third century of our era. Scaliger speaks of a manuscript of Losime entitled *Ἰσμοῦς* from which he quotes the following passage. "The sacred scriptures tell us that the angels smitten with love for the women, instructed the latter in all the works of nature. From this intercourse of the angels with mere mortals, came the race of giants. The book in which they taught the arts is called *χημεία chema*; the name *chemia* applied to the principal art."* Alexander of Aphrodisia, the celebrated and learned commentator on the works of Aristotle, speaks in his Greek manuscript entitled, a *Commentary on Meteorological Phenomena*, which may be seen in the Imperial Library at Paris, of various metallic fusions and calcinations; and describes several chemical instruments, including the crucible (*τήναρον*.) Julius Firmicus, another author of the third century, in speaking of the influence of the stars on the intellectual disposition of man, says; "If it is mercury, he devotes himself to astronomy; if it is Mars, he embraces the profession of arms; if it is Saturn, he betakes himself to the science of alchemy (*scientia alchemiæ*.)†

Of all investigators, the alchemist is, or rather was, the most patient; nor is any quality more necessary for his success. It is more characteristic of him, than of any other student, that he is not discouraged by failure. We read of many an alchemist who, having devoted his life to experiments, bequeathed all the results he attained as a legacy to his son; the son in turn bequeaths his knowledge in a

* Oia. Bourché de ortu et progressu chemiæ in Bibl. Manget. Tome I. p. 2.

† Julii Firmici Materni *Math. lib. iii c. 15*. See also Clem. Alex. *Stromat. lib. v.*

similar manner, and is protected in doing so by the laws of different countries; which regard it as inalienable property. Who will deny that there is something sublime in this patience and perseverance, especially when it is borne in mind how much chemical processes are dependent on time? *

The chemist, or alchemist, has to imitate nature if he expects to succeed, and how many are there of her processes which require centuries for their performance? Several of these could be mentioned, but one will suffice for our present purpose. Thus, Sir Humphry Davy, one of the most successful, and most illustrious of modern chemists, shows us how nature may be detected in the fact, of making coal before the process is finished. Indeed no intelligent person who investigates the subject will fail to see the coal in every stage of the process by which it is formed in nature's laboratory. Few are aware that both the bituminous and anthracite coal are made from woody substances. The latter burns without smoke, and, when fully ignited, without flame, because it is destitute of the pitchy, volatile substances which are present in the former, but which have been driven off by heat in the formation of anthracite.

We see the process little more than commenced in peat bogs. The peat is formed from marsh plants, of which there is an annual growth. According as the plants rot in the water, they fall to the bottom. By this means a large accumulation of vegetable matter takes place in the course of time. By the partial decay, or imperfect combustion, of this mass, it is converted into peat, which is a half-formed coal. Mineralogists enumerate several kinds of black coal, which pass into each other in the lapse of time, in the same mine; but it often takes one kind a series of centuries before it thus passes into another.

Thus, were one to wait for nature until she has made coal of her peat, it would require him to live many centuries. When the chemist has suitable materials he can perform any process in a much shorter time than when his materials require preparation; and it is the same with nature. Thus

* "Le temps, c'est là un des grands secrets de la nature, et c'est ce que les alchimistes n'ignoraient pas. Bien des produits, que le chimiste est incapable de faire dans son laboratoire, sont engendrés avec profusion par la nature, à la faveur de ses agents ordinaires, dont l'action se prolonge pendant des siècles qui ne se comptent pas. Si les alchimistes étaient, dans leurs expérimentations, partis de meilleurs principes, ils seraient incontestablement arrivés à des résultats prodigieux, aux quels n'arriveront probablement jamais les chimistes d'aujourd'hui, trop pressés de jeter le présent."—*N. Hooper*.

what is called wood-coal is formed of heaps of trees buried by inundations under beds of clay, sand, or gravel; the woody parts having probably undergone a certain degree of vegetable fermentation under the pressure of the earthy matter, by which they have been carbonized and consolidated. So regular is the gradation in the different processes, or rather in the one extended process, that in some specimens of this coal we find the vegetable fibre, or grain, perceptible in one part, while another part in the same mine which has undergone a more advanced process, possesses all the properties of mineral coal.

We have made these remarks on the formation of coal, to show that the alchemists were right at least in their estimate of the influence of time. When we see thus that it often takes nature a period equal to the whole Christian era to complete one substance with all the necessary appliances, how can we denounce man as an impostor or a visionary, because he fails to accomplish his work in perhaps a dozen, or at most a score of years? In other words, can it be said, from what we know of the operations of nature, that if one man, or two, or a hundred do not succeed in any particular process, it follows that success under any circumstances, or in any time, is impossible? It is much more logical to believe that many an alchemist has died during his researches, who, could he only have lived sufficiently long to complete the work he had commenced, would have been entirely successful. Be it remembered that these observations do not apply to the alchemists of the present day—a fact which misleads many. The persons who call themselves alchemists in our time are in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred ignorant charlatans, like our quack doctors, whose sole object is to make a living by swindling the credulous out of their money. Those who were formerly called alchemists are now called chemists; undoubtedly the chief difference is one of terms. Some unprincipled pretenders to the science of alchemy brought disgrace on the name in the dark ages, so that the true alchemists deemed it necessary to assume a new name.

Supposing it true that the alchemists confined their researches and speculations to the metals, even then we should regard them as very stupid, indeed, did we not believe that they made important discoveries. It was impossible for them to be constantly manipulating the metals as they were in contact with the acids, organic matters, &c., without having

become acquainted with the nature of hydrogen, and many other important substances supposed to be of recent discovery. But it may be asked, if they made those discoveries, why did they not proclaim them to the world? At first view this would seem to decide the point against them; but we must bear in mind what public opinion was in the dark ages, when chemistry was called the black art, magic, divination, the occult science, the necromantic art, &c. It is admitted on all hands that if the chemists of our time had lived in the thirteenth or fourteenth century they would have found it their interest either to keep their science to themselves, or to conceal it under a symbolism. Why then cannot we understand that the alchemists had to do the same; and not denounce them as imposters or visionaries, because they did not expose themselves to prosecutions for witchcraft.*

Although it is not true that the European mind was entirely inactive during what was called the dark ages—although there were still great thinkers—so much had the cause of knowledge suffered from various influences, that it had become a disgrace rather than a credit, a source of danger rather than a benefit. It is not strange, then, that alchemy became synonymous with charlatanism; in short, a complete blank occurred in regard to the cultivation of the science—a blank which embraced more than a whole century. That many valuable treatises on the natural sciences were lost or destroyed during this period is not to be doubted. It is true that those who devoted themselves to the study of chemistry on the revival of intellectual activity might in a certain sense be regarded as its founders. Some vague ideas of the science still remained; but they could be regarded as little more than hints, by which the thoughtful and discriminating alone could profit. Thus it will be seen that far from having any disposition to depreciate what modern chemists have done, it is our wish to give them all the credit which their warmest admirers claim for them. No other men have made better use of their intellect, or have contributed more to the welfare of mankind; nay, indeed, we hold that none have accomplished so much for the material well-being of the race. But, as already observed, it detracts nothing from their glory to recognize what others had done before them. If, by one

* Those who speak the most harshly of the alchemists have to admit that it was they who obtained succinic acid from amber; that it was they who obtained vinegar and wood spirit from the dry distillation of wood; and that it was they who discovered alcohol and several ethereal oils, &c.

of those general political convulsions, which have occurred at different periods of the world, destroying the fruits of centuries of research and discovery, the works of our great chemists should be lost, how should we feel a thousand or two thousand years hence, if capable of understanding what was passing in the world after we had left it, did we find that the writers and thinkers of the new period persistently refused to acknowledge that the science of chemistry had ever been intelligently or successfully cultivated among us?

Having thus sought briefly to vindicate the claims of the ancient votaries of the science of nature, whether it be called alchemy or chemistry, we now proceed to note what the moderns have done, and to show, as best we can within such narrow limits, how much the world is indebted to them. It is due to our benefactors that their great works should be held in grateful remembrance. For this most of them toiled from year to year, often in poverty and suffering: almost their only consolation consisting in the hope that posterity would do them justice. But the living, too, have a claim on all who undertake to influence the public mind. The young and inexperienced have a right to expect such suggestions as may help to guide them in their efforts to choose a pursuit which is at once honorable and useful. The best use of biography is to show us, by example, the value of perseverance in well-doing. Thousands who have the best intentions are deterred from the prosecution of noble enterprises because they are surrounded with so many difficulties that success seems impossible. Had these been shown instances of success in undertakings much more difficult on the part of persons who had had more obstacles to encounter than themselves, it is not to be doubted that it would have exercised a powerful influence on their destiny.

The first modern chemist worthy of the name, was Basil Valentine, who, we are told, by Van Helmont, was a Benedictine monk of Eufurt, and lived about the beginning of the fifteenth century. His *Carrus triumphalis Antimonii*, translated into Latin from the original German by Kikriengius, is one of the most remarkable works in the imperial library of Vienna. The author was called an alchemist in his time; but the greatest modern chemists have adopted many of his suggestions, and done honor to themselves, and service to mankind by doing so.

Paracelsus, who lived near the close of the same century, attracted much more attention than Basil Valentine, but he

did so by borrowing most of his opinions from the latter without any acknowledgment of their source. By his extraordinary zeal, however, he did great service to the cause of science, by rousing the attention of mankind to the study of chemistry and anatomy. His attacks upon Galen and Avicenna, scurrilous and sometimes absurd as they are, show that he had carefully studied the works of the ancients. There are few chemists of the present day who might not profit by the study of his writings; although they contain much that is not only absurd, but disgusting. The best edition of his works is that published at Geneva, in 1658, in three large folio volumes; the first containing the medical treatises, the second the chemical, and the third the surgical. It is a remarkable commentary on the modern pretensions that chemistry is altogether a new science, that the chemical treatises of Paracelsus are decidedly the best of his works. They occupy 718 closely printed folio pages. His treatise on *Minerals* would surprise even those who know most of mineralogy. Its list of mineral substances is, indeed, not quite so long as the list of the present day; but it is a most curious one, and is generally if not wholly correct.

The next to Paracelsus in point of eminence is George Agricola, the founder of the science of metallurgy. He seems to have been the first among the moderns who intelligently experimented on the metals; although it is proper to add, that some claim that honor for the philosopher, Boyle. Bernard Palissy is similarly distinguished as the representative of technical chemistry; he it was, we are told, who first applied the science to agriculture, to the arts of pottery, glass manufacture, enamelling, &c., and it was he, also, who caused the new name of chemistry to be generally adopted as a substitute for the old and degraded name of alchemy.

It was not, however, until the beginning of the seventeenth century, that it began to be extensively cultivated. During this period, and the beginning of the eighteenth century, chemistry made great progress. Among those entitled to most credit for this are the following: Van Helmont, who was the first to direct the attention of chemists to the study of the gases; Boyle, who particularly recommended the experimental and inductive system; Fredrick Hoffmann, who first distinguished magnesia from lime; John Rey, who observed the increase of weight of the metals during calcination; J. Kunkel, who taught how to make phosphorous; Moitrel l'element, who first taught the means of collecting gases;

John Mayow, who had been acquainted with hydrogen long before Cavendish. Other great names in connection with the science of this period, are Homberg, Etmuller, Glaser, Lemery, Lefebvre, Hales, Pott, and Boerhave; nor should we forget Stahl, the inventor of the celebrated theory of the phlogiston, which maintained its sway for more than two centuries. The great chemists of the eighteenth century include those investigators who have contributed most to raise chemistry to the dignity of an exact science—such as Priestly, Scheele, Bergmann, J. Black, Margraff, and Lavoisier.

The progress of chemistry during the present century is divided into two epochs. In the first forty years the mineral, or inorganic branch of the science, received the principal attention of chemists; during the remainder of the time, organic chemistry has gradually been attracting attention. Connected with it are several illustrious names, although it must be regarded as still in its infancy.

From 1801 to 1848, the leading spirit of the inorganic branch was Berzelius. This is one of the few votaries of natural science who have rendered Sweden illustrious. In 1788, she lost the renowned Linnaeus, but the following year he was replaced by the birth of Berzelius. Apart from the incalculable service rendered by the latter to the science of chemistry, there are some features in his life and character which it may be instructive as well as interesting to note in passing; and we will therefore allude to them briefly.

Early an orphan, he was for some years under the care of a stepfather, a pious Swedish clergyman, who caused him to read a chapter of the Bible every morning, and one of "Stevens' Reflections" every evening, preparatory of his daily walk. It is related that in the course of one of these walks his stepfather was so much struck with his eagerness in collecting plants, and with the acuteness of his observations, that he remarked, "Jacob, thou hast talent enough to walk in the footsteps either of Linnaeus or Cartouche. I hope thou hast God before thy eyes, and so wilt thou do thus forever."

But for years nothing seemed to anybody else to justify this prediction. His mother was so poor as to be unable to support him. He had, therefore, to go about among his relatives, remaining with each as long as they were willing to keep him, for almost all seemed to regard him as a burden, and this was very painful to his sensitive nature. He spent four years at the celebrated Natoping school, but were we to

judge by the report of the rector, we should conclude that he made little or no progress; for opposite to his name, on the list of young men transferred to the University of Upsala, were the words, "Indifferent in behaviour and of doubtful hope." It need hardly be observed, therefore, that he was received with reserve by his new masters, and regarded with suspicion. Nor does he seem to have made any effort to remove so unfavorable an impression. His biographers say that, to all appearance, he spent the first year idly, and at the same time spent all his patrimony. The fact that he then obtained a situation as a tutor would seem to show, however, that he made progress in some way. As soon as he obtained his year's salary he returned to college. In a short time after he underwent what is called the medico-philosophical examen; but Afzelius, the professor of chemistry, was so dissatisfied with his answers as to say no better to his brother professors than "that he would not send the young man back if *they* were satisfied with him." He was not absolutely rejected, therefore, but his second examination was postponed for a year.

He was now nineteen years of age, and began to frequent the laboratory of the professor; but the latter had so little confidence in him, that on one of his visits he asked him "if he understood the difference between a laboratory and a kitchen." This offended him so much that he withdrew in disgust, but he studied at his lodgings more assiduously than ever. The learned war was now raging between phlogiston and oxygen. The professors adhered to the old theory; the despised pupil became the champion of the new, and with good reason, for he entirely succeeded in his own apartments in preparing oxygen gas, and burned several substances in it in the presence of his fellow students.

But this was not all. One evening, on entering the laboratory of the university, after having been reconciled to the professor, he observed a glass retort. This was just what he had long been wishing for. He wished to perform an important experiment, which was impossible without a retort. If he asked the professor to allow him to take it home, the probability was that he would be refused, and so he took it without asking. By means of this stolen retort he made one of the most important discoveries of modern times. We may remark in passing, that there is a useful moral in this fact: it serves as a new proof that one may be guilty of a grave fault—nay, of a serious crime—and be still

great and good, not only worthy of our confidence, but an honor to the age in which he lives. But the world was not yet prepared to accept the discovery of the youth, and he had to plod on as usual, earning scanty bread wherever he could get it.

Thus it was that he spent the summer of 1799, in a fourth-rate apothecary-shop in Wadstena; and here he learned from an Italian the art of working in glass. He still looked back to the university of Upsala, wishing to convince her professors that, however well-meaning they were, they did him injustice. With the view of making as favorable an impression as he could, he analyzed the mineral waters of Modena, and made them the subject of his thesis at his new examination. But in vain. Afzelius, his old professor—regarded as one of the most eminent chemists in Sweden—was still of opinion that he was but an indifferent student. He told him he had no confidence in his analysis, and finally advised him "to go to the University of Lund, where he might possibly have better luck." Once more he tried to convince Afzelius; this time he was so far successful that he was allowed to pass. He further induced the professor to send to the Academy of Sciences at Stockholm some researches which he had made on the production of nitric ether, on the properties of nitrous oxide, and other subjects then little understood. Three years after he received a letter from the secretary of that learned body, accompanying his manuscripts, with the brief remark, "that they did not acknowledge the new nomenclature!" But Berzelius was not to be discouraged even by the rebuff of so learned a body as the Academy of Sciences. The discovery of Volta in 1800 led him to make experiments with the new pile on the human body. These he made the subject of his thesis at his licentiate's *examen*, in 1802; and for the first time he found he had made a favorable impression on those who had hitherto been most opposed to him. He had soon the most satisfactory proof of this, for he was appointed the following year Adjunct Professor of Medicine and Pharmacy in the College of Medicine at Stockholm.

It was not until now that his labors began to be appreciated at their proper value. In 1804, he took his doctor's degree without trouble; and three years after he was appointed principal professor of chemistry in the school of medicine at Stockholm a position which he held for nearly forty years; during which period his salary was raised four

times, and he received presents and donations from the friends of science which would have amounted to quite a liberal salary by themselves.

It is a remarkable fact that, notwithstanding all this, the Academy of Sciences still refused to publish his papers in its transactions; but it was influenced in thus persistently opposing him much more by the unfavorable reputation that followed him from the university than from any opinion it had formed of the merits or demerits of his researches. In this, too, we see the value of character. So great was the injury done Berzelius by the reports alluded to, that none but a man of true genius could have triumphed over it. But he possessed genius, and did triumph. In 1808 he was elected a member of the Academy; two years after he became its president, and in 1813 he was assigned a pension for life. This was a distinction which had not been conferred on any other member, with the sole exception of Scheele.

It is not this, however, that renders the fact most interesting, but the condition upon which the pension was conferred, namely, "that he should communicate to the Academy the researches which they had formerly despised." It need hardly be remarked that this did honor to the Academy, as well as to Berzelius, because it showed it had the moral courage to acknowledge, in the most explicit terms, before the world, that for more than a quarter of a century it had continued to do injustice to the philosopher.

It were well for the cause of civilization, as well as that of science, that all who find themselves in error would have the candor to admit it, and the generosity to make what amends they can to those whom their opposition has injured. Never was this magnanimous spirit more fully acted upon than by the Academy of Sciences of Stockholm, for, while Berzelius was absent in Paris in 1818, he was elected Perpetual Secretary, of the very institution which had so long treated him with utter contempt. But even when the Academy began to make all the amends in its power for its former opposition, it was still unable to comprehend Berzelius; but it was convinced of his merit by the profound impression which his researches produced throughout Europe. This fact is placed beyond doubt by the dates.

In 1803, before he had obtained his Doctor's degree, or an appointment in any college, Berzelius published a paper on the decomposition of saline compounds by galvanism; this was five years before Sir Humphrey Davy had decomposed

the alkalies by the same agent. While even Napoleon I. agreed that the French Academy ought to bestow its gold medal on Davy, an Englishman, and consequently (as might be supposed) an enemy, though he was, the Swedish philosopher wrote: "I succeeded in going a step further; and by the aid of quicksilver, decomposed the *alkaline earths* and *ammonia*, of which I informed Davy, who acknowledged in his reply, that this reduction was previously unknown to him."

This is no idle boast, but the simple truth, and yet it does as much honor to the English philosopher as it does to the Swedish. This magnanimous conduct on the part of Davy, has been contrasted by several eminent writers, with the alleged conduct of Newton towards Leibnitz; and it must be confessed that the comparison places the chemist in a much more amiable light than the astronomer. Important as are the discoveries, made by Berzelius, it is doubtful whether they have contributed more to the advancement of chemical science than his admirable system of classification, which, however, is now so well known that we need take no further notice of it here. "The period of my life," he says, "has been peculiarly favorable for the last study of that science to which I have felt a natural inclination, and a similar one can never return. At the beginning of my scientific studies, new-born chemistry had scarcely left its cradle. The measure of existing knowledge did not exceed the capacity of youth to bear in mind. The whole was soon made familiar, though year by year it has been developed, and the measure of knowledge gradually increased. After forty years of progress, a mass of materials lies before the beginner, of which it is impossible for him to make more than a part his own, within the period assigned to ordinary studies, and perhaps more than any one can ever altogether master, although it has not been difficult to become gradually possessed of all during a continued study of forty years."

Scheele and Priestly have strong claims on the friends of natural science. Probably no modern before his time interrogated nature so profoundly and successfully as the former. Scheele has made many discoveries, including arsenic acid, prussic acid, manganese, acetic ether, lactic acid, &c., &c. To Priestly seems to belong the honor of having discovered oxygen, although there are those who think that it was known to Eck de Sulybach, an alchemist of the fifteenth century. Be this as it may, Priestly was the first to communicate to the public the most salient properties of the gas. He was also

the first to collect chloridic acid in the gaseous state, and make experiments on its properties. Other discoveries, which we owe to Priestly, are the protoxyde and the byoxide of azote: but the most beautiful fact he has added to the general stock of chemical, or rather physiological, knowledge is that it is the vegetable world which imparts to the atmosphere the principle (oxygen) which enters into the respiration of animals.

It is worthy of remark that the discoverer of oxygen, and the discoverer of so many acids and combustibles, were both firm believers in the phlogiston theory, which bears a relation to the present theory, not unlike that which the Copernican or heliocentric theory, bears to the Ptolomeac or geocentric theory in astronomy. As there may be some of our readers who are not acquainted with the rival chemical theories, we will briefly describe them here.

The phlogistic theory, as invented by Stahl, is simply this: All combustible bodies are compounds, one of their constituents being phlogiston, a principle common to them all. During the combustion, the phlogiston makes its escape, and the other constituents remain behind. Thus, when zinc is heated to redness it burns with a lively white flame, and a large quantity of a light, white, tasteless powder remains behind. This shows, according to Stahl, that zinc is a compound of this white matter (*calx of zinc*) and phlogiston. Accordingly, to produce zinc again, we have only to unite the calx of zinc with a sufficient quantity of phlogiston. Now, be it remembered, how much it is the habit at the present day to sneer at the ancients, because they recognized so few elementary substances; and how all the metals and, as we have already seen, many other substances, are adduced to prove the absurdity of that theory. But Stahl, and the most eminent chemists of Europe, for nearly two hundred years, maintained that the metals are not simple bodies at all, but compounds of a calx and phlogiston.

Lavoisier, a Frenchman, was the Pythagorean who first observed that this was inconsistent with the fact, that when a metal has undergone combustion, the calx which remains is heavier than the metal was before it was burnt. He also showed that combustion is not a decomposition, as had hitherto been supposed, but a combination, and called attention to the well-known, but neglected fact, that air is necessary for combustion. He then demonstrated that charcoal, when burnt, combines with oxygen, and is converted into

carbonic acid; that sulphur, by uniting with oxygen, becomes sulphurous acid; and that the calces of mercury, iron and tin, and all the metallic calces, are combinations of the respective metals and oxygen.

But all was in vain. None of the old chemists would abandon their favorite theory. There was scarcely a month but Lavoisier published papers at great expense, each of which contained evidence more or less conclusive in support of his theory. Thus, we are told, that he experimented and demonstrated and published for ten years, spending thereby quite a handsome fortune, but without making a single convert! It seems that the older and more eminent chemists of every country, with a few exceptions, continued faithful to the last to the doctrine of phlogiston.

It was while Lavoisier was thus battling against the old theory, with all the zeal and energy of a reformer, that Cavendish showed that hydrogen when warm unites with oxygen and becomes water, and that azote by uniting with oxygen becomes nitric acid. The latter fact made a profound impression on all who understood it. It was found, indeed, that no amount of heat, however intense, could make oxygen and nitrogen unite to form the acid; and it was discovered that if they could be made to unite readily, producing even on rare occasions nitric acid in considerable quantities, the most destructive effects would result from the corrosive acid as it descended in showers upon the earth. But this is never the case. Even electricity, the only agent that can cause them to unite in the atmosphere, can only produce the acid in small quantity, and this is carried by the rains into the ground, where, instead of doing harm, it does much good to vegetation.

The discovery of Cavendish afforded Lavoisier considerable aid by illustrating the difference between a mere mixture and a chemical compound; it also afforded new proof of the fact that nature does all things for the best—that she furnishes mere mixtures where mixtures are best, and compounds where compounds are best. Thus, while the mixture of oxygen and nitrogen is one of the gentlest of substances, their chemical union forms a powerful acid which corrodes and destroys almost every substance with which it comes in contact.

Without entering into particulars, it may be observed, in brief, that so energetically did Lavoisier work for ten years against the old system, performing a number of tedious, difficult, and expensive experiments, which would seem beyond

the power of any single individual, that he finally succeeded not only in utterly demolishing the old edifice, but also in erecting a new and stately one in its stead—one which to this day continues to give complete satisfaction to the most eminent chemists of all nations. As the limits of our article will not allow us to follow Lavoisier in his wonderful career of discovery and reformation, let it suffice to note the principles which he has established, and by which he has opened an entirely new field for the researches of chemistry. The most important of these principles are the following: Matter is imperishable; its weight is unalterable, and accompanies it in all possible modifications. Bodies are formed of simple elements, which are the final result of chemical analysis. Water is not an element; it is formed from oxygen and hydrogen. The air is not an element; it is essentially composed of azote and oxygen. The metals are simple in their nature; they are chemical elements. The metallic calces are composed of oxygen and metal. The alkalis and earths appear also to be composed of oxygen and of metal. When we calcine a metal in atmospheric air it absorbs oxygen from it, which increases its weight and changes it into a calx, or an oxyde. The calces or metallic oxydes, heated with charcoal or combustible bodies, part with their oxygen, and return to the metallic state. Phlogiston does not exist. Oxygen is indispensable to combustion. Oxygen is the generating principle of acids. The salts are formed by the direct union of an acid and an oxyde. Chemical elements are so few that *almost all the bodies we are acquainted with are compounds*. The elements combine in determinate proportions. Two elements may combine together in several proportions. Carbon and the diamond are formed of the same matter. Organic substances are composed of carbon, hydrogen and oxygen, or of the same elements with the addition of azote. The respiration of animals is a veritable combustion; animal heat is due to this combustion. The cause of heat is a peculiar fluid, which is imponderable and incoercible, called caloric. The principal cause of the heat experienced during combustion is the change of state of the oxygen, which in the majority of cases becomes solid.

It is Mr. Dalton, of Oxford, who enjoys the honor of having discovered the Atomic theory, although it had been enunciated fourteen years (1789) previously, by Mr. Higgins, of Dublin, in a very learned work on the Phlogiston and Anti-phlogiston theories. Unfortunately the health of the latter

failed before he was able sufficiently to define and apply his theory. But it is proper to add, that Mr. Dalton does not seem to have had any knowledge of the views of Mr. Higgins, but that he fully developed the new theory, applying it successfully to the whole doctrine of chemical combinations. "We ourselves are old enough," says Doctor Lindsay, of Dublin, "to remember this remarkable man—uncouth in his gait, habits, and fashion of speech, but noble in his intellectual expression—lecturing with a sort of apostolic simplicity and earnestness on the subject of his Atomic theory, shortly after its first announcement, to an auditory far from numerous, and only slightly awake to the vast influence the doctrine was destined to have on our knowledge of the material world. At a later period in his life we have visited him in his laboratory, and seen the venerable old man working among his broken glasses and rude, self-contrived apparatus, materials by which, with the higher aids of zeal, perseverance and an ardent love of scientific truth, he accomplished more than many whose appliances and means of research have been ten times as great." The attention of Mr. Dalton was first arrested by the manner in which oxygen combines with simple bodies. With some it combines only in one proportion, with a great many in two, and with several in three, four, or even six proportions. He observed that if we take a given weight of a simple body capable of uniting with oxygen in more than one proportion, and determine the quantity of oxygen requisite to constitute that compound which contains the smallest quantity of the principle, the oxygen in the second compound will be obtained by multiplying that in the first by two, the oxygen in the third compound by multiplying that in the first by three, and so on. The philosopher himself explains his law as follows: Every simple substance is composed alternately of particles incapable of further division. To these particles he gave the name of *atoms*. It is these atoms alone that enter into combination with each other. One atom of one body may unite with one atom of another, or with two atoms, or with a greater number. The atom of every body has a *peculiar weight*, discoverable by the proportions in which it enters into combination with other bodies; thus it is obvious that the weights of the atoms of carbon and oxygen are to each other as the numbers 6 to 8 or 3 to 4. If the atom of oxygen be eight, that of carbon will be six. We see from other examples that if an atom of oxygen weigh eight, that of sulphur will be sixteen, and

that of azote fourteen; so that an atom of sulphur is just twice as heavy as an atom of oxygen.* The discovery of Dalton enabled the indefatigable Berzelius to demonstrate to the satisfaction of every competent judge that *chemical substances never combine except in definite proportions.*

The doctrine of definite and equivalent proportions in chemical combinations is one of the most important of discoveries in chemistry. It is one of the greatest laws which govern the material world, but it can only be understood by those well instructed in physical knowledge. The few remarks which we can make on the subject in this sketch are intended, therefore, merely to direct attention to it as a study at once beautiful, interesting, and useful. Thus water, composed of oxygen and hydrogen, is found to contain these ingredients in the proportion of 8 to 1 by weight. Assuming this to be their simplest form of union—an opinion generally entertained by the best chemists—we obtain at once the relative atomic weights of oxygen and hydrogen, as 8 and 1 respectively. In the compounds of oxygen and nitrogen the proportion increases in the ratio of the simple numbers; so that nitric acid, the fifth in order of these compounds, contains exactly five times the weight of what exists in the protoxide of nitrogen, the first of the series. From these data we obtain, by analysis of this gas, the relative weights of 8 and 14 for the atoms of oxygen and nitrogen composing it. Thus far the scale is as follows: hydrogen is the unit, oxygen is 8, and nitrogen 14. Again, the atomic weight of sulphur is found by analysis of its compounds with oxygen to be 16. By examining its simplest form of union with hydrogen we find it to be exactly 16 to 1, or one atom of each, which agrees precisely with the numbers before obtained. The metals and their numerous oxides and salts have been submitted to the same law; and the evidence of accuracy and correctness increases according as the number of objects brought within its scope are multiplied; so that the conclusion is as complete and certain as any one in pure mathematics. Nor is it alone the bodies regarded as simple which are thus found to combine in definite proportions; the compound bodies observe the same law in all their com-

* "La physique, la chimie et la physiologie," says M. Aug. Comte, "peuvent être conçues dans leur ensemble comme ayant pour objet d'étudier l'activité moléculaire de la matière dans les divers modes dont elle est susceptible. Sous ce point de vue, ces trois sciences correspondent respectivement à trois degrés successifs d'activité qui se distinguent entre eux par les différences les plus profondes et les plus naturelles."

binations; hence the combining number of a compound is exactly the sum of the combining numbers, or atomic weights of its constituent parts. Thus, sulphuric acid is composed of sulphur 16, and three proportions of oxygen 24; their combining proportion is therefore 40. Potash, upon the other hand, is composed of an atom of potassium 39, and one of oxygen 8, and gives 47 as its combining proportion or weight. Now if potash and sulphuric acid—two compounds—are combined, the product of their union will be exactly represented in all its relations by 87,—that is, $40+47$, the sum of its constituent part.

It was about the same time that heat began to be studied as a science in Great Britain. Dr. Black had observed, that when a solid body becomes a fluid, or when a liquid body is converted into vapor, a great deal of heat is absorbed which is not indicated by the thermometer, and which he therefore called *latent*. It had long been known that when heat is thrown into a body its temperature rises. From this Boerhave concluded, from an experiment made at his request by Fahrenheit, that bodies experience the same increase of temperature when equal quantities of heat are thrown in. Experiments on a few substances seemed to prove this, but the more varied and extensive experiments of Dr. Black enabled him to give it an immediate contradiction, and to show that, so far from all bodies being equally acted upon by a certain degree of heat, the same quantity has *thirty times as much effect in elevating the temperature of mercury as it has upon the same weight of water*. This is the reason why mercury is used in the thermometer and barometer, instead of water. From the same facts Dr. Crawford proved that every substance in nature has a specific heat of its own, and hence the origin of his celebrated theory of animal heat.

Although the student of English literature need not be told that Sir Humphrey Davy has contributed greatly to raise the science of chemistry to its present dignity, it would be wrong, nevertheless, to pass over his valuable labors and their results in silence, even in so brief a sketch as this of the history of chemistry. No other philosopher has applied the principles of chemistry to the explanation of natural phenomena with greater boldness than Davy; nor has any one succeeded better in doing so. Finding that the metal potassium, one of his many and important discoveries, takes fire on contact with cold water, produces much heat, and liberates a large volume of elastic (hydrogen) gas, he exclaimed,

"Give me accumulations of potassium, or sodium, or other analagous metals in the bowels of the earth, and let the waters of the sea descend to them, and all the phenomena of the volcano and of the earthquake may be produced." In proving the truth of this theory, he reminded his readers that all the active volcanoes then known were situated near the sea. Dr. Daubeny has advocated the same theory in a valuable work published in 1847, entitled, "Description of Active and Extinct Volcanoes;" still more recently (1850), Mr. Mallet, of Dublin, published the results of a series of researches made by him, with the same object, under the auspices of the British Association, and they were published among the transactions of the Association, under the title, "First Report on the Facts of Earthquake Phenomena." It was Davy also who introduced into chemistry one of the most powerful agents of analysis, namely, electricity; and he was the first to demonstrate experimentally that the alkalis and earths are compounds of oxygen, and a radical variable for each alkali or earth.

It is often remarked of a substance found in combination that it exists in such small quantity that its influence must be slight, if indeed nature intended that it should exert any influence; but this has been proved in a thousand instances to be an erroneous idea. Nature has done nothing in vain. If we cannot see the use of a particular substance in a particular situation, we ought honestly to confess our ignorance rather than infer that it has no use. Thus by means of delicate and beautiful experiments, iodine and bromine substances discovered some forty years since in the waters of the sea, and in certain sea-plants, have been recently detected in numerous mineral waters, and even in certain metallic ores—they have been brought into artificial combinations with various other chemical agents, so that they now afford important remedies to the physician; although when first discovered they were regarded merely as curiosities. To such perfection have these experiments been carried, that the presence of iodine may be detected in a liquid containing less than its millionth part by weight; and the only test necessary for this purpose is the familiar substance known as starch.

Liebig has devoted more attention than any other chemist to the influence of these small quantities on compounds, such as the iron existing in a portion of the blood, the sulphur in albumen, fibrin, and certain other animal matters, the fluorine

acid in bones, the phosphorus in the medullary substance of the brain and nerves, the silica, sulphur, phosphorus, and the metallic oxydes, or alkalies found in different vegetable substances, etc., etc. Some idea may be formed of the method pursued by Liebig in estimating the influence of those minute particles on the compounds in which they exist by his mode of solving the important question as to the positive amount of carbon present in the atmosphere. He first estimated the total weight of the atmosphere round the globe; then deducted the fractional proportion which carbonic acid forms of this amount, and finally deducted the further proportion of 27 per cent. which oxygen bears in the composition of carbonic acid, leaving a gross result of three thousand and eighty-five billions of pounds of carbon—a quantity which, in the opinion of Liebig, exceeds the weight of all the plants and *strata of coal* existing on the whole earth.

The progress in organic chemistry is such that various organic substances are formed artificially in the laboratory, not merely analogous to those existing in animals and vegetables, but identical with them. The number of such substances thus produced now exceed twenty, including kreatinine, urea, the benzoic, formic, oxalic, succinic, and lactic acids, &c. But there is this important difference, that the products thus obtained are not derived from the simple inorganic elements, as in the original processes of nature, but formed by change and combination from other organic compounds. It is proper to add, that even by this means no organic tissue can be formed.

Those who have distinguished themselves most in the department of organic chemistry are Scheele, Bergmann, Berzelius, Lavoisier, Gay-Lussac, and Thenard. The analytical system was first applied to organic chemistry by M. Chevreul in his great work on the fats of animals.* Berzelius showed in 1814, in his published analysis, that the doctrine of chemical equivalents was applicable to organic as well as to inorganic chemistry. But it is to the brilliant researches of Gay-Lussac that we owe our first acquaintance with a compound body which exhibited all the chemical relations hitherto supposed to be characteristic of the elementary substances. His discovery of cyanogen—a compound of nitrogen and carbon—in 1815, at once surprised and delighted the most eminent chemists, especially when

* *Recherches Chimiques sur les corps gras d'origine animal.* Paris, 1823.

he demonstrated that the new substance acted on the elementary bodies in every respect like chlorine and iodine. When the latter was first found, it was believed for some time that it existed nowhere else; but in the progress of experimental research it was detected in the common cress, and in various other fresh-water plants. Fluorine was also supposed to be confined to sea-water and marine plants; now it is known to exist in the bones and teeth of all animals, in the blood, and even in milk. So early as 1811 it was known that starch and woody fibre could be transformed into sugar. In 1822, it was found that the starch and sugar thus obtained could be changed into the acid of ants, now known as formic acid. Still more remarkable was the discovery made in 1828, that the characteristic animal substance, urea, could be artificially prepared from certain compounds of cyanogen. Another important discovery in organic chemistry is that of protein, made in 1838, by Prof. Muller, of Utrecht. This has led to more angry discussion than any other substance yet discovered. Even at the present day, the most eminent chemists differ as to its composition; but all agree that its discovery has produced an era in animal chemistry by the flood of light it has shed on the composition of animal fluids and tissues and upon the quantities and uses of different kinds of food.*

As to the utility of chemistry, every intelligent person is aware that no other science—probably not all the sciences together—have contributed more to human comfort. Some of the most important results of chemical science are so familiar to all that it would be superfluous to mention them here. We may, however, note a few as illustrative examples. It is now forgotten how much trouble, money and time, it used to cost in former times to bleach linen or cotton. Before the middle of the last century, the business of bleaching was almost exclusively in the hands of the Dutch. From all parts of the British Islands manufacturers were in the habit of sending their goods to Holland to be bleached, and they received them back after an interval of about nine months, tolerably white indeed, but considerably injured in other respects.

The principal ingredient used by the Dutch was sour milk. In May, 1768, Dr. Howe, of Edinburgh, who had recently

* *Essai de Statistique Chimique des Etres organisés.* Par MM. Dumas et Boussingault. Troisième Edition. Paris, 1862.

been experimenting on colors, proposed to substitute sulphuric acid for the milk. The suggestion was immediately acted upon, and the result was a reduction of the time of bleaching from nine to three months. Some forty years later, chlorine was tried as a substitute for exposure on the grass to the sun. For a time it was regarded as a failure, simply because it was not properly used; but after much laborious investigation, and numerous experiments, it was finally brought to such perfection that, whereas bleaching had to be done hitherto in fields, exposed to the sun, the most extensive bleaching-houses of Manchester, Glasgow and Lyons were situated in the narrowest lanes, where there was neither sun nor grass; and so it has remained to the present day.

But what time and labor have been spared by the substitution of chlorine for exposure to the sun? Suffice it to say, in reply, that the period of nine months of almost incessant labor has been reduced by chemical science to a few hours. This may well seem fabulous, but it is not the less true, that at the present day it is no uncommon thing to receive unbleached goods in the morning of one day and to return them bleached and ready for the market on the evening of the next.

The same substance has proved of the greatest value in the manufacture of paper, by affording the manufacturers a ready method of removing all color from tissues which had been dyed or printed with vegetable or animal colors. Anterior to this discovery, there was no known means by which those colors could be removed so as to render colored rags available for making paper; but the difficulty after the discovery was that it was found almost impossible to prepare pulp under certain circumstances so free from excess of chlorine as to prevent, in the lapse of time, the bleaching of the ink upon the paper, which was made from it. But this only afforded further exercise for the genius of the chemist, who prepared a substance called an *anti-chlor*, which being used as prescribed, entirely removes the residue of the chlorine, and secures to good ink an indelible permanence.

The steeping of flax was another tedious and disagreeable process, and one which often caused fatal diseases. For ages particular sheets of water or streams were famed for their efficacy in steeping. The fineness of the fibre depended on the plant being neither full grown nor rank; and it was held impossible to grow profitably both seed and stem at once. But a chemist named French analyzed the water in

which the flax had been steeped; he also made some experiments on the flax itself; and the result was a chemical discovery that rendered all tolerably pure waters equally available, and which shortened the process of steeping to a few hours instead of weeks. Thus a great and dangerous annual nuisance has been removed, and the finest fibre has been extracted from the rankest and ripest plant.

The changes produced by chemistry may all seem miraculous to the vulgar, as a few instances will show: Thus, there is no body more combustible than hydrogen, and no body supports combustion so well as oxygen; yet these two gases combined produce a fire-extinguishing liquid—water. Common salt, an article so wholesome and useful, contains sixty per cent. of suffocating chlorine, which is deprived of its deleterious properties by combination with a metal. One gas when diffused through the air in absolutely inappreciable proportion, affects those who inhale it with violent catarrh; another, if breathed but once, arrests the current of life; while a third exhilarates with a happy but fleeting intoxication. One substance takes fire and glows brilliantly when simply exposed to the air; another starts into flame when it is touched by water or by ice; another has so nauseous a smell that it can hardly be endured. A single drop of one fluid, if swallowed, will produce instant death; the vapor of another will cause speedy insensibility; while a drop of another will set in motion the whole alimentary canal. One solid substance explodes with a terrific detonation by gentle friction; while another will crumble into powder, and entirely change its color on being touched. In other cases the addition of a single atom, or molecule, entirely alters the properties of the compound. Thus, in cinnamyle there are twenty-seven atoms, and if only one atom of hydrogen be added to these, it forms oil of cinnamon; add one of oxygen, and the result is a solid substance called cinnamic acid. Benzoyl contains twenty-one atoms—fourteen of carbon, five of hydrogen, and two of oxygen ($C_{14} H_5 O_2$)—add one of hydrogen ($C_{14} H_6 O_2$), and the result is the deadly poison known as the oil of bitter almonds; and if, instead of the hydrogen, we add an atom of oxygen ($C_{14} H_4 O_3$), the result is that agreeable solid substance known as benzoic acid. Put a penny into a wine glass, and pour in some sulphuric acid, and immense heat will be produced. Pour into a glass an infusion of litmus, and then let fall a few drops of acid, and the color will instantly be changed from blue to red; but if

a solution of potass be added, the blue color will be as promptly restored.

The effects of different substances on the animal functions are still more important and interesting. It is by this branch of chemistry we are enabled to understand the nature of poisons, and in numerous cases to prevent their proving fatal. An insoluble substance passes unchanged and unabsorbed along the alimentary canal, and escapes from the body in the usual way without producing any materially sensible effect. It is otherwise with a soluble substance which passes into the blood, and nourishes or injures the system according as it is nutritious or poisonous. Chemistry has discovered methods by which many soluble poisonous substances can be united with other bodies so as to become insoluble, and therefore rendered capable of being introduced into the stomach without injurious consequences. Thus it is that the white of an egg renders corrosive sublimate inert, the hydrated per-oxide of iron, white arsenic, lime, or magnesia, oxalic acid, &c. The progress of slow poisoning is arrested in a similar manner; as, for instance, in the disease known as painter's cholic, which is produced in lead mines, or wherever there are particles of the metal to be taken into the stomach, either in dry dust or in combination with water. The lead being introduced into the system in a soluble form, makes its way everywhere through the blood and among the tissues. First the chemist discovered that sulphuric acid, or sulphuretted waters, rendered the lead insoluble, and consequently inert. Immediate relief was thus afforded; but the lead remained in the system, and when it met with other substances which had neutralized the effect of the sulphuric acid, the poison became active once more, and the pains returned. Finding that the good work was but half done in this way, Prof. Melsens, of Brussels, set to work in his laboratory, and after a long series of experiments he discovered that the substance now known as iodide of potassium is capable of decomposing the insoluble compounds of lead, and of bringing the metal into a new condition in which it readily dissolves in water. When a person is poisoned with lead, his system struggles to throw it off, and it can be detected in his urine. The sulphuric acid causes it to disappear from the urine, and at the same time stops the pain; but, as already observed, the poison still remains in the system. If

the iodide of potassium be now administered, observe the effects: the pains of poisoning return, and the metal reappears in the urine. If a large dose be given, the patient will be prostrated with colic; but small doses, at frequent intervals, will effectually wash away the metal out of the system, without any pain. Nor is lead the only poison which the iodide of potassium completely expels from the system; it produces the same effect on the mercury which, after protracted salivation, still lingers in the system.

Although we have trespassed on the patience of our readers to a much greater extent than we had intended, there are many chemical phenomena of the highest importance to which we have not been able even to allude. These must form the subject of a future article; for it would be impossible to give any adequate idea of them in this. The branch of chemistry which teaches us to analyze the precious stones, would require an article by itself; it affords materials for one which, if properly treated, would be replete with interest especially to the ladies. Thus, for example, glucinia, which is but one of the earths, is one of the principal constituents of chrysoberyl, emerald, and other precious stones. Alumina, another earth, is the base of common alum. There is scarcely a clay or fertile soil without it. But what would seem most strange to the ordinary observer, the sapphire which in some of its varieties is, next to the diamond, the most costly of gems, is pure alumina crystallized. The same is true of the oriental ruby, the oriental emerald, the oriental topaz, and the oriental amethyst, all of which are but different names for the same gem, according as it is of one color or another.

In a similar manner it was a highly interesting discovery, when first made, that the diamond is pure carbon; but it did not seem so incredible as the subsequent discovery, that the same carbon enters into the constitution of sugar in such proportion that the article, which of all others is most palatable, and most useful for culinary purposes, may be said to be composed of charcoal and water. "We may thus look upon the food as fuel," says Professor Faraday, one of the most illustrious of living chemists. "Let me take that piece of sugar," he adds, "which will serve my purpose. It is a compound of carbon, hydrogen and oxygen, *similar to a can-*

amination of all inorganic substances; whereas those who choose the other, require to study all substances derived from living or dead animals, to analyze plants and their immediate products, to learn the nature and preparation of medicines, together with the means of preserving them, to trace the effects produced on the animal system by disease or organic defects, and finally to consider the changes produced in animal substances by the mysterious power called the principal of life, &c. That none can learn all this is obvious; but a thorough acquaintance with any one of the eight or nine branches into which chemistry has been divided, is sufficient when rendered available for the public good, to confer enduring renown, and is at the same time an inexhaustible source of delight to its votary.

ART. II.—1. *Principj di Scienza Nuova d'intorno alla commune Natura delle Nazioni.* Naples. 1860.

To peer beyond our narrow horizon—to fathom the sea on which we float—has been the hope, the aim, the struggle, and the despair of our race from the beginning. We seek to know ourselves and all our incidents. We search creation over for the key which shall unlock to us our origin, our purpose, our limits, our destiny. We grapple with the universe, and think to wrest from it its dark secret of the what, the whither, the how. Stung by the riddle that is flung to us—groping, stumbling, chasing after the flying answer—we sit down at last with the letters of the long generations before us, and set them, now this way, now that, hoping that we may by chance come to spell out the one word which gives meaning to humanity. We cannot be content to stand unreasoning on an unknown shifting point. We only exist in the present: we feed on the infinity behind us: we live in the infinity before us. Holding out the torch of experience to throw a forward glimmer into the dark, we try to light up the path we must tread—to unravel the tangled skein of the future—to decipher the hieroglyphics dimly traced upon the black curtain of destiny.

The word of all the infant ages was simply this: Know thyself. The individual was all in all: the race was nothing. Poring over each single unit of humanity, men never cared

to figure up the sum total. They never dreamed of the long chain stretching through all the ages, and binding the earliest and the latest into one. Each link in the succession of being was scrutinized as separate and complete. Practice trod in the steps of precept. A narrow theory wedded to a narrow experience brought forth a dwarfed humanity. The law of life was sought for the one alone. To an individual centre came at last the converging radii of science, philosophy, art, religion, and history. Each man for himself strove to look into the millstone of destiny; and here and there a bleary-eyed sage fancied that he saw light through. Curiosity donned the robe of authority, and hailed itself prophecy. Everywhere the innate bud of the future, fertilized by self, bloomed into coarse magic and tawdry divination. Hammering with infantile hands, men hoped to break the adamantine husk, and lay open the kernel of fate. Led by a simple faith, driven by instinctive longings, guided by blind, solitary interest, the world went to take counsel of lots and sorcery, to pay tribute at the shrine of the oracle, to bow before the augur, the seer, the astrologer, the fakir. But behind all there lay only the selfish, isolated unit, projecting itself in folly into the gloom, and feebly seeking, by dint of idle conjurations, to forecast apart its own petty allotment.

Man let fall a single stone into the inland sea of humanity; and the one ripple in the placid water spread, after long waiting, to the furthest confines. The idea of the unit gradually broadened into the idea of the many—of all. War, commerce, travel, thought, study, religion, were the joint tutors who trained at last the dull stripling into a catholic manhood. Only by degrees was the hard lesson learned, that "the individual withers, and the world is more and more." The step was a long one from the particular to the universal: men tarried on the lower levels of the general, and uttered the words, Greek, Barbarian, Jew, Gentile, and the like. Not till the fulness of time was the summit reached. There, in the presence of the universe, was spoken the last word—Know the world. Standing on the height, in the centre of time, with the ages circling them round, men looked before and after, and saw the illimitable unit of creation. Then rose the full thought: All is one. But there are many units—the lesser and the larger—the narrow and the wide. Thus far we have looked only at the pigmies. Let us now behold the one, perennial world-giant. Whether brethren or

not, we are all alike parts of one nature—members of a larger body. Let us look abroad, and see ourselves reflected in each other—in the all. There is one power, one law for all. Henceforth we will study the law of life, not for and in ourselves alone, but in and for the great corporate man of whom we are. We grow with his growth, and strengthen with his strength.

From a broader culture sprang a truer method. Not now, as before, did men attempt with puny fingers to loose the knot—to hazard blind guesses at the riddle of being. The scholar looked into the lore behind him to read what must lie before him. Seeing one texture throughout, he ventured to piece out the passing fabric by weaving on a homogeneous future. As he scanned again and again the known quantities given by the long result of time, he trusted, by patient study, to frame and solve the true equation for the value of the unknown. Then looking to the future, and leaning upon the unchanging law, he said: "The thing that hath been, it is that which shall be; and that which is done is that which shall be done: and there is no new thing under the sun." Incident and form may change, but principle and essence must endure.

Thus there grew up within man's breast the idea of the oneness of his history—an idea long dormant and silent, but uttering itself at last, in various keys, through many mouth-pieces. This idea might, perhaps, be called a germ in the human mind, swelling out in due course of time into a far-spreading tree bearing multifarious blossoms. Can we say that we have yet tasted the ripe fruit? Or put it thus: Weary of narrow, mouldering shrines, men longed to build for themselves a fair temple of history, broad and enduring. Casting about for the perfect plan, they searched the world over, and at last dug up out of nature the scheme of an edifice whose foundation should rest on humanity, whose walls should be wide as time, whose summit should look out into the infinite. The groundwork was laid together, and the builders called in. And many came from all sides, proffering time, and thought, and labor, and bringing chosen stones, and rare timber, and costly ornaments. So the temple rose slowly. To whom has the fulness of the plan been revealed? Who shall cap the structure? To whom shall it be given to look upon the majesty of the end?

Let us now turn from this final idea of a possible unity

throughout history to the man from whom this idea first took shape and expression—Giovanni Battista Vico. He has been called the founder of the philosophy of history. And justly so, though he failed to give utterance to the whole truth, or to avoid the leaven of error. To him is due the credit of being the first to attempt a method of induction in history ; to seek a law underlying all facts ; to generalize details into principles ; to construct a uniform scheme based on nature and reason ; to make insight foresight, and read the future by the past ; to convert events into teachings, special experience into general wisdom, anomaly into method, and annals into philosophy. Much may be pardoned to the spirit of philosophy as well as to the spirit of liberty.

In Italy, literature, touched by wakeful hands, first shook off its long slumber. Here also philosophy, inspired by Cardan and Bruno, began to breathe a new life. And in this ancient land—shrine of great deeds, mother of great men, keystone of the nations—it was fitting that the story of the world should be told anew—that history should put on new vigor, and step forth into larger dominion. The tree which was to grow into a shelter alike for the old and the new, could germinate only in this soil, warmed and fattened with the rich deposit of ages. It was Vico who planted the germ, and trained up the tender shoot.

Vico, as it has been pithily remarked, was born in a garret, in Naples, in 1668, and died in another garret, in the same city, in 1744, with a European reputation but with scant food. The son of a poor bookseller, he had a double inheritance—poverty and learning. A life-estate of melancholy was left to him in boyhood by a fall which fractured his skull. Though trained by the Jesuits, he did not, even in youth, slavishly adhere to their prescribed routine ; but, with the independence characteristic of his whole life, boldly struck out a path for himself. When very young, he chose the profession of the law, and at an age when others are entering upon their studies he conducted to a successful issue at least one cause. But his returns were scanty ; and the character of his intellect inclined him to prefer the severe learning of the jurist to the practice of the advocate. One day, while ruminating gloomily in a public library, he was found by the Bishop of Ischia, who being pleased with his appearance, appointed him tutor to his nephew. This position he held for nine years. It was during the studious seclusion of this pe-

ried, amidst the well-furnished alcoves of the bishop's library, that the idea occurred to him of building up a science of history. To carry out this idea became with him henceforward the one object of his life. To this all his studies were directed, all his powers concentrated. The annals of literature present us with but few instances of so resolute and persevering a devotion, under great difficulties, to a single lofty purpose.

Returning to Naples, Vico was elected professor of rhetoric, with an annual salary of one hundred crowns. He held the office for forty years, but was meanwhile obliged to resort to various shifts in order to keep soul and body together. He took pupils in Latin; was made historiographer to the court, when the Bourbon line came in; and was endowed by the Austrian and Spanish viceroys with the privilege of preparing many papers for public occasions, and of composing inscriptions, addresses, verses, and the like. Altogether wretched tasks indeed, and a sorry enough life he had of it. Of this enforced job-work the most melancholy specimen was his life of a little great man, Marshal Carafa, to which two years of pain and night work were devoted. The book was a good one of its kind, and was styled by Pope Clement "The Immortal History." But its most substantial praise lay in the thousand ducats which it brought him. If it seems somewhat fulsome, we should bear in mind that necessity urged him, and that servility to patrons was demanded by the spirit of the age. In our own annals it is not very many generations since the great chiefs of literature meanly stooped to elevate base nobles into spurious demi-gods.

The chair of jurisprudence at the university being vacant, Vico stood as candidate; but, in spite of his superior qualifications, was defeated, partly from neglect to canvass thoroughly, but chiefly from his avowed disbelief in the existence of any such man as Homer. Thenceforward he went on with his old round of duties, zealously devoting what time he could to the elaboration of his theory of history. Like Kant at Königsberg, he always clung close to his native city: though each gave himself to world-wide speculations, neither ever stepped beyond the limits of a province. Like Richter, he would study amid the cares of a household, and often write out his most abstruse thoughts while the domestic din was ringing in his ears. Through much suffering and disappointment he was led to believe himself ill-starred: misfortune,

he said, would follow him to the tomb. His prediction proved literally true; for a quarrel concerning precedence arose among the pall-bearers at the funeral of the unhappy philosopher.

A miserable life it was indeed, hard, full of stern sacrifice, unsatisfactory to him who lived it, and chilling and discouraging to the reader. But the personal facts of such a man are little worth: his true significance is found in his ideas and his work. Vico truly lived only in and for his scheme of history. That was the one fact of all with him. And when at last he looked back upon his finished work, he was of good cheer, reconciled to his lot. Lifted by patient effort to a higher level, he beheld his sure reward, and spoke with that calm confidence in the judgment of the future, that same certainty of final triumph, which appears in many of the world's best spirits, blazing out conspicuously in St. Paul, Bacon, Milton, and other such. He wrote to a friend thus: "Since I completed my great work, I feel that I have become a new man. I am no longer tempted to declaim against the bad taste of the age, because in denying me the place which I sought it has given me time to compose my *New Science*. Shall I say it? I perhaps deceive myself, although most unwilling to do so; the composition of that work has animated me with a heroic spirit which places me above the fear of death and the calumnies of my rivals. I feel that I am seated upon a rock of adamant, when I think of that law of God which does justice to genius by the esteem of the wise."

Vico gave to his great work the title of the *New Science*, because it sought to bring within the domain of law and order what had been before regarded as capricious and irregular. He conceived that there was one uniform purpose and plan throughout history; that it is in the power of humanity to discover and unravel this purpose and plan; that, in fact, a science of historical phenomena is as much within our reach as a science of any other given facts. Man might as easily penetrate the secret of his race as explain what lies around him. The world of matter had not shaped itself blindly without design, or from self-originated or self-developed designs: it had been framed according to celestial patterns; and these patterns—chosen originals of all things—were archetypes existing in the mind of Providence. So, too, the Divine Intelligence had in the beginning developed out of itself its own idea of all human history; had estab-

lished the world-wide plan, and fashioned the archetypes which should become the fixed frame-work and models of all the manifestations of the coming race.

History was, therefore, simply one form of utterance of the divine ideas—the ever-ripening fruit of the germ long since planted by the Author of the universe within his own bosom. Man claims to be the maker of his own annals; and so in a sense he is: but, while he is laboring to carry out his own petty purposes, he is none the less a co-worker—unconscious, it may be—with the great Architect in the broader plan. Though the lesser may seem sometimes to negative the greater, it is not so in reality: the particular must always bend to the universal, and the human give way to the divine. What appears to us aberration and confusion, is truest harmony, when seen from the central point. The long procession of humanity has never veered from the route marked down in the beginning. In history, too, even more than elsewhere, the divine perfections reveal themselves to men. Here, from the well-ordered course of things, we can argue, with strongest demonstration, up to a central beneficent head. Vico, indeed, went so far as to name his system a civil theology of Divine Providence; and in like manner Michelet characterizes his work as “une démonstration historique de la Providence.”

Thus far the views of Vico were not peculiar to himself. The general idea of a divine supervision, and, in some sort, shaping of human affairs had been often expressed in this quarter and in that; and Bossuet's work had already attempted to show that at least the central thread of history exhibited so much of wisdom, of benevolence, and of unity in its design and its execution, as to prove conclusively that its origin could be found in the supreme intelligence alone. It was in the application of this ground-principle, and not in the principle itself, that Vico ventured on a new path. To prepare himself for his work, he had studied, and in turn rejected, most of the sources of the knowledge of that day. He had pored over the old philosophies, the lights of history and jurisprudence, the patriotic lore, and the prime works of ancient and modern literature. But it was long before he found his foothold and true starting-point. The favorites of one period were often supplanted by new favorites of another. Three, however, seem to have been abiding counselors—Plato most of all, then Tacitus, and Bacon. Grotius,

too, was long and diligently studied: on him the weary seeker for truth mainly rested at last, for here was found a solid corner stone for the new system.

For Grotius, seeking to erect a broad and permanent structure, did not rest upon the shifting sands of transient opinions and fleeting customs, but looked around on every side for the solid rock of universal principles. He built solely upon the ideas common to all humanity, ideas uttered alike by the earliest and the latest generations. He appealed ultimately to the common sense of the world: the grander utterances of our race given through its true mouth-pieces, the poets, the orators, and the thinkers, were found, when gathered from far and wide, to be in close harmony. Vico, then, taking up this tenet of the substantial agreement of all the larger verdicts of mankind, based his system upon it. He declared the true criterion of the New Science to be the principle that whatever all or the majority of mankind pronounces right, should be the guide and law in social life. Hence this has been often called the common-sense theory of history.

This first principle, it will be noticed, had nothing to do with the genesis, the mode of development, or the character of particular dogmas: it was simply the foundation—and the scaffolding also, we might say—of the system as a whole. Its office was to furnish a starting-point, an authority, a standard. But the second general principle fixed the plan and the frame-work of Vico's edifice. It regarded the varying phases of history, and spoke of one immutable essence in all. Vico looked over the world, and searched for the underlying law. Surveying the rise and fall of nations and empires, he at last pronounced that, whatever their special facts might be, their general development was analogous, being always subject to one inflexible rule which prescribed alike to all the same birth, procreation, and decay. All history sooner or later returned according to the established circuit, and started once more, wheeling off anew upon its appointed path. The movement of the race was always by rotation: evolution was but revolution. Throughout the world, at any one given time, cycles more or fewer were unfolding themselves—some larger, some smaller—some the rotation of a puny people, others the wide orbit of vast powers—nay, perhaps even as at the beginning, embracing the whole world together in one co-ordinate revolution.

This idea of a uniform rotation formed the true key-note of all that was special to the New Science, and gave to it the title of the system of Historical Returns, or the Cyclical Theory of History.

It will not be a useless task for us, even to-day and here, to scrutinize this system, and designate with some care the salient features of this typical revolution. The system may be partly or wholly right or wrong—the rotation of humanity may be a fancy or a fact—there may or may not be much that is irrelevant, whimsical, antiquated, and useless mixed up with some portion of truth; whatever be the case, the theory of Vico must always excite the interest, command the attention, and deserve the respect of the thinkers who study the meaning of history, and trace out the attempted solutions of its problems. He was the pioneer in a new path, the first to conceive the large uniformity of history, to look into its universal relations, to seize its broadest questions, and think them worth the answering. And in the lesser studies leading up to his great life-task, he was equally a leader. He first discovered the clue leading to the heart of the labyrinth of mythologies; busied himself with linguistic researches and deductions, making philology his mainstay and guide through history, long before the modern science of philology came into being; antedated Wolf in bold and learned criticism of Homer's poems, and in denial of Homer's individual existence; anticipated Niebuhr in a judicious skepticism and excision of the early legendary Roman annals; lived throughout in advance of the routine of his time, wielding the keen criticism of a later age; and, though hardly understood for many years, came at last to be rehabilitated, as the phrase goes, and to receive, in spite of his many erroneous and puerile conceptions, the respectful homage of many of the foremost minds of later generations. He has, however, been often ignorantly worshipped or despised, having been, it would seem, more referred to than read, oftener read than studied, and more studied than justly estimated.

What, then, are the fixed points in each cycle of the nations—the mile-stones along the great stadia of society? What steps is it appointed to aggregated humanity to take, as it travels its inevitable archetypal round? The circles vary in extent, not in nature: their centre is the same, and their circumference is similarly traversed by the same radii.

But not all the circles are completed: for the most part, we see only a fragmentary arc of each; yet the arc, whether smaller or greater, always conforms to the law of the circle of which it is a part, and illustrates, according to its measure, its proportion of the same unvarying principles. In the completed circle there are three great divisions—in other words, three periods in the history of every people whose life runs its full course. These periods, classified according to their predominant sentiment or element, are as follows: the Divine, Poetic, or Creative; the Heroic; and the Human, or Intelligent. And as all the subordinate divisions follow and coincide with this larger one, the special phases of national life reveal themselves throughout in triads. Thus there are three successive modes or manifestations of religion in both doctrine and cultus, as well as of law, character, manners, literature, language, government. It is as if there were wheels within the wheels of national life, all revolving alike to the same measure.

The divine or poetic age is the time of social infancy,—that far distant period of obscurity, antedating even the fabulous and legendary times. Then the nation arises, is moulded from within by its own nature, and shaped without by the formative principles surrounding it. Religion is the sum and substance of this early time: the rule is theocracy at the beginning. Divine ideas, indeed, are a necessary central principle also in all the later phases of national life. Without a mode of religion as groundwork and bulwark, society is impossible. Religions are born of credulity, not of imposture: the earliest idolatry, however erroneous, comes of a natural craving, and is based on a true principle. It is from man's own instinct of divinity that he creates for himself his first gods. The elemental forces are felt, feared, deified, worshipped. Nature seems a huge, animated body, instinct with intensified human passions. Overpowered by the awful presence, and feeling his solitary weakness, man seeks union with his fellows, and frames the first society, which is that of marriage and the family. Hence, under the divine legislation, come the patriarchs and the simple form of the domestic monarchy—the characteristic government of this period. For protection against each other and their own dependents, the patriarchs league together, thus forming larger dynastic centres—the nuclei of the later oligarchies.

This primal age is not only divine, but poetic as well; for men are then but children, and childhood and poetry are akin

to each other in memory, imagination, and imitativeness. Poetry is but imitation. In its first unfolding it fills and informs all things. Even the first jurisprudence is poetic: justice proceeds through signs, symbols and outward imitations of inward truths. It is a time when legal fictions abound, when truths and principles are seen, not directly face to face, but behind a mask. Formulas are the instruments of legal processes. The old law may indeed be called a serious poem told off symbolically in the seats of justice. The earliest histories are ballads: all truths tend to shape themselves rhythmically. Language is picturesque, figurative, graphic, giving utterance through signs and hieroglyphics. The first words overflow with tropes and images. Out of a childlike, sympathetic trust in the infinite, and a feeling of close converse with the supernatural, there germinates the science of divination, a kind of higher poetico-religious speech through which the will of the celestials is thought to find expression. The period, in fine, is throughout the joint product of religion and poetry. The child is everywhere singing, dreaming, worshipping.

At last the race, emancipated from its swaddling-clothes, grows up into the sturdier life of the heroic age. This is that old legendary time in which large solitary forms seem to thrust themselves up from the dead level of the age, and loom conspicuous against the distant background. They are the heroes of fable, made vast to our eyes by the misty traditions through which they come to us. History appears then like a mountain land full of cloud and mirage, and dotted over with inaccessible peaks. The heroes are the ideals of the age conceived and projected by an instinct of the popular mind, and cherished as the living embodiment of a wonder-working fancy. They are representative men standing for the age, and summing up, each by himself, some marked trait of the race, or some leading idea peculiar to the existing stage of human progress. They are specific types of general facts; for mankind at this epoch, having imperfect power to generalize, put abstract conceptions into concrete forms. Every thing is seen under a personal relation, and made individual. Thus, Hercules stands for all deeds of strength; and Hermes is the type of the restless inventive spirit. Homer alone is made to embody an entire civilization, as well as to represent the ideal of the poet; for poetry still continues to be the essence, and generally the form, of all truth.

The general characteristics of this epoch are, in substance,

those of the preceding, modified and expanded, however, in an increasing ratio, to suit the development of the age. Religion is still near to men, and is the centre of all things. Casting aside its ancient awfulness, and decking itself in the robes of a condescending mythology, it comes in a more attractive guise, and speaks in a more familiar language to the heart of man. Not only do the gods assume the human shape and visit the abodes of men, but the heroes go up and dwell in the skies. Mimetic language and hieroglyphs begin to give place to a simpler and more direct utterance. Pantomime becomes speech, and roundabout symbolism vanishes before matter of fact. Poetry becomes a stepping-stone to prose. Jurisprudence deals less with signs and fictions, and more with facts and things signified. It strives to tear off the unwieldy masks and veils of truth, that it may grapple more closely with principles and right. The form of government, too, adapts itself to the changing spirit of the time. The old patriarchs who at the first had been only the wise men, the priests, law-givers, and kings of a single family, and who at a later period had come together for mutual support into little social clusters, are now driven, by the pressure from without, to consolidate themselves into still wider masses; and thus the society of the family becomes the society of the city. The government of the city, then, in its first phase, is the limited kingship of the early patriarchs permeated with the growing spirit of oligarchy. In its fuller development, it becomes the united rule of the pure aristocracy alone. The bonds of society are now less personal than civil. Men now know that there is something beyond the family. They are conscious of larger interests, and recognize wider social duties and social rights. To all these the city gives full scope. It embodies their conceptions of civil government and personal independence; is the fitting expression of their sympathy, their freedom, and their oneness; and is looked upon as the true nucleus of political society. A new idea has grown up in the minds of men—the large idea of citizenship. The horizon has expanded: a new step in civilization has been taken. The simple child, breaking the leading-strings of his father's home, has gone forth a generous youth, alive to social pleasures. Hereafter he will ripen into the cultured man of the world.

Time rolls on, and unfolds at last the human, or intelligent age, marking the historic period of the race. The old

obscure superstitions and nature-worship have long since tottered and fallen: the faith in deified heroes has waned; and the nation has come finally to know itself, and lean securely on its own manhood, feeling itself sustained, not thwarted, by the wise guidance of a single, all-embracing Providence. It believes itself sufficient for its own work, without resting on the petty aids, or mocking itself with the tinsel dreams of its immature stage. It strives to penetrate by its own powers the mysteries that start up on every hand, to solve the questions that concern itself, to bring all things to the test of reason and experience. Its poetry gives room to prose; its empiric illusions are verging towards science: credulity, fanaticism, and bigotry are yielding to reasonable service and right worship of one God for all. Individualism broadens into generalization; for men are fast rising to the new power of seeing truth in its essence, abstracted from the idle forms with which it had been trammelled. Language is moulded now more by the reason than by the imagination and passions, and looks rather to use than to ornament. Jurisprudence having cleared itself from the fetters of the old mystic theology, and thrust aside much of its vague symbolism and effete formulas, now strides on more directly and vigorously toward pure justice and truth. The essence of legal obligation is now made to consist less in the form, and more in the will. The law, formerly held in the exclusive possession of the nobles, is now publicly taught, and becomes the heritage of all. Hence the power of the class is weakened, while that of the mass of the people is increasing. Aristocracy is little by little sliding over into a popular government, which becomes in time an unlimited democracy. The two chief characteristics of aristocracies—both conservative in tendency—are the preservation of imposed limits, and of the separation of castes; but the spirit of the innovating democracy is toward extension of territory, the levelling of distinctions, and the increase of laws.

Laws are desired by the weak, but withheld by the powerful. Ambitious men offer new laws in order to further their private interests by securing popular favor. Princes protect the laws in order to equalize the powerful and the weak. The multitude of laws is the most direct route to monarchy. The hunger for privilege is never sated; interests clash in accumulated enactments; and on the whirlwind of popular conflict some leader of his time rides on to empire.

Vico, in one of his pregnant axioms, sums up the leading points of the social revolution as follows: Men at first wishing to be free from subjection, long for equality: these are the plebeians in the aristocratic republics which end in becoming popular governments. They aim next to surpass their equals: these are the lower orders in the popular states which degenerate into oligarchies. They seek at last to set themselves above the laws; and there follows an unbridled democracy, an anarchy, which may be called the worst of tyrannies, since it has as many tyrants as it can find desperate and unprincipled men in the city. Then the populace, enlightened by its own evils, seeks a remedy for them by flying to the shelter of monarchy. The royal law of nature, he remarks, is precisely that by which Tacitus describes the monarchy of Augustus, "*qui cuncta, discordis civilibus fessa, nomine Principis sub imperium accepit.*" Starting from the unity of the patriarchal monarchy, men pass successively through the government of the few, of the many, and of all, and find unity once more in civil monarchy. The aristocracy was guided by a suspicious terrorism: the democracy was convulsed by popular storms; but the monarch steps in, bringing repose and practical equality to the subject. Nations always body forth ideas, and among others the idea of government. As nations change and grow, so do their ideas unfold themselves and assume new forms, the idea of government always becoming, in its ultimate phase, monarchy.

Such is, in bare outline, the normal revolution of the nations as sketched in the theory of Vico—a theory marked by an insight and comprehensiveness of spirit far beyond his age, and sustained by much curious learning and deep philosophy, but defaced by numerous strange whims and crotchets. In these days of the careful study and thoughtful criticism of history, when men are questioning afresh, with singular earnestness, its lessons, its meaning, its truth—when they are examining and testing, as never before, its very foundations, its data, its plan, nay, even its possibility—this first, broad attempt to find out the purport of humanity, and the *rationale* of corporate movement, is worth consideration as the starting-point of the philosophy of history. Vico does not claim, as it has been sometimes alleged, that his theory of social changes is invariably followed out in fact. The law, however, remains the same, though its provisions may be infringed, and its execution interfered with. He claims

to present simply the type of normal progress, which he admits is often not adhered to, as the national life, affected by various incidents from within and without, becomes abnormal. He gives the general rule to which there are many exceptions: he lays down the ordinary dynamic laws in the abstract, without allowing or intending to allow for extraordinary friction and collisions.

In this view, the censure which has been passed upon him for claiming to fix the law for all history, while he considers the history of Greeks and Romans only, falls to the ground. The special history is merely the medium through which he surveys general principles. He aims to give simply the ideal history of the laws which must for ever regulate national progress; and these laws he finds more clearly and perfectly illustrated and proved in Greek and Roman history than elsewhere. On account of the absence of disturbing causes Rome became, beyond all before or since, the embodiment and expression of the spirit of these laws: in her alone was the great idea in its completeness made real. She alone traversed the entire circle: all others passed through a greater or smaller arc here or there. Vico compares with her her three rivals, Carthage, Capua, and Numantia, and shows why they did not complete the same course, and what were the disturbing forces in their progress—deducing from these apparent contradictions further illustrations and proofs of his general principles. He also scrutinizes the first shapings of modern history, and discovers in its complex structure many broad analogies which serve as new confirmations of his system. He shows how society reproduced itself, preserving substantial identity under diversity of forms; how the new-old cycle began afresh, how the building rose once more from its ruins. The early years of Christian Europe, with their implicit faith, religious rites, theocratic leanings, and formative tendencies, constituted another divine or poetic age. And in due course the heroic age was repeated in the feudal times, which ushered in fiefs, knights, castles, homage, military service, vassals, and the like; all analogous to the characteristics of the corresponding period of the former cycle—the heroes and hero-worship, the mountain-fastnesses, the early fiefs, glebes, and retainers. It was, in fact, only a new utterance of an old truth, a variation, or new strophe, of the world's song. Society travelled again the beaten road: all along the route nature still wore a familiar face, and the

general outline of the landscape remained the same, though meanwhile some new features had been added to the scene in place of outlived landmarks, and a richer growth had sprung up by the way.

One great merit of Vico consists in this, that he was the first to develop the idea of an organic life of society. Pascal, indeed, had already let fall the thought that the successive generations of men may be considered as forming one gigantic, aggregate man, living through countless ages; but he had never amplified or applied his conception, which, adopted in later days by many minds, has been variously elaborated with more or less skill, but with special thoroughness by Comte, and by Hegel and others among the Germans. It was Vico, however, who first expanded, illustrated, enforced, and applied this idea with any fulness and precision, deducing from a barren dictum a fertilizing principle. In his view, every nation has, like an individual, an organic life, a regular growth, an orderly procession from the cradle to the grave. To each social cluster belongs the expression of a certain idea, or set of ideas, peculiar to itself, which shape and color all its manifestations. There is a genius and character of communities and ages, as well as of men, displaying itself throughout their progress and harmonizing all things into a consistent whole. This is the fundamental idea upon which Voltaire built his contributions to history, and which he so profoundly illustrated in his celebrated *Essai sur les Mœurs*.

There is a change or cycle, moreover, of national character, indicated by the prevalence of certain individual types which successively rise to the surface. Thus we discern first the gross and barbarous, as Homer's Polyphemus; then the proud, magnanimous Achilles; next, the just Aristides, and the valiant Scipio; afterward, Cæsars and Alexanders, compact alike of great virtues and great vices, popular embodiments of true glory; then the gloomy depravity of a Tiberius; and finally the shameless and abandoned Caligulas, Neros, Domitians. These are but types of ever-recurring changes. It must not be supposed, however, that their features assume, in all cases, the same distinct monstrosity of outline: time may tone down the expression, while the character may remain radically the same. Again he remarks that the character of nations is first cruel, then repellent, then mild and gracious, then given to research, then dissolute. The progress of intellectual awakening is by a triple move-

ment: men merely feel at first, without observing what is felt; they next observe, but only with the turbulence of passion; finally, taught by a pure intelligence, they begin to reflect. Thus civilization presents throughout its entire course an orderly development from the beginning to the end. It is a gradual training and unfolding from small things. Its causes are to be found far back in the ages termed barbarous. But still there is one and the same life through all. There are links of steel which bind together the earliest and the latest.

It is undoubtedly a grand defect of Vico's scheme, considered as a theory of philosophy, that it leaves out of view the general progress of the race—the course, the meaning, and the destiny of mankind taken as a whole—and thereby evades the highest problem which history united to philosophy has to offer. Confining itself within the lesser revolutions of peoples, it does not expand into the wider sweep of humanity. Hence it has been said, that general advance is inconsistent with the very idea of a theory which presents only one unvarying treadmill round. This, however, is not altogether correct: Vico, indeed, limits himself to the narrower question, but does nothing to negative the broader view which he neither affirms nor denies, but which can be justly inferred from the whole tenor of his theory. It is a case of deficiency, not of inconsistency. Society, like the planet, has two distinct movements—one the revolution upon its own axis, the other a single orbital motion, induced by its grand central principle. The first, Vico attempts to solve: he seems to have thought that the last did not come within his province. The final drift of the world may be this way or that: the philosopher poring over the eternal cycles will not raise his head to look.

To Vico, as before remarked, belongs the honor justly due to the true founder of the philosophy of history. The student will, however, recall the names of three predecessors worthy of mention, as men who had glimpses of a broader and deeper truth than their time was ready for. In advance of their age, they dimly conceived of a unity in history, and, rising from facts to principles, sought to harmonize social phenomena. But their superficial speculations did not reach to the heart of things. Seeking to embrace many but not all, they did not detect that which is common to all, and so failed to bring humanity into unison. They saw truths, but

not the truth. They were acute observers, perceiving much, but not attaining the widest reach. Their concrete, partial, transient views, were not transformed into principles abstract, universal, eternal. Standing without, they looked through the portal, but never fully entered the broad domain of philosophy. A higher stand-point was needed: having learning, they needed rather wisdom, the discerning reason, the informing spirit. Though they succeeded in touching, they failed to grasp firmly the conception of universal law. Not full-fledged philosophers, they laid no valid base-principle under the entire social structure, and furnished no plan adequate to humanity. They were heralds of a new spirit in history, forerunners of the coming thinkers.

Machiavelli clearly saw the germ of a truth which he never brought to maturity. In the union of acuteness of perception with a truly philosophical comprehensiveness of intellect, and in the power to seize the full meaning of the past as well as by anticipation to divine and appreciate the essence of the future, he has been seldom surpassed. In his *Discourses on Livy*, published in the first half of the sixteenth century, he maintained, with great learning and power, the doctrine that similar causes have produced all the changes of government at all times, though incidental peculiarities may have contributed something to modify the result in a slight degree. In confirmation of this doctrine, he appealed to the history of the various nations of the old world, bringing to bear in every case a searching analysis and a truly scientific method. But, though he closely scanned the mechanism of the vast social engine, and detected the secret of its bearings and adaptations, its action and reaction, its general mode of working, and the perfection of many of its details, he nevertheless was blind to the object for which, and the motive power by which the complex apparatus was kept in action. He saw only the bare fact of a machine adapted to the nature and wants of man, complete, consistent, always working with unvarying action, and overcoming all inertia and friction; but he saw nothing further. This, too, was the capital defect of the method followed by Bodin in the fragmentary theory set forth in his chief work, *De la République*: it regarded only the minor appliances—the superficial interaction of subordinate parts—never searching for the secret springs which throb at the very heart of society, and give to it its characteristic action. In the inspection of the fitness

of the gearing, the nature of the propelling principle was lost sight of. A system which concerned itself thus with surfaces and appearances could never have arrived at the highest truth, however far it proceeded. It was, moreover, of an essentially local and transitory character, building itself on the fleeting politics of the time. But making all due deductions, Bodin is, nevertheless, entitled to a high place among those who have aided in building up the new philosophy, on account of the singular ability with which he seized and mastered, before all others, certain large dominant principles of history, which have, since his day, come to be almost universally accepted. His speculations on the nature and forms of government received from Vico a careful and deferential, although an adverse criticism, and were the rude germs, it is more than probable, of some of the ideas advanced by the latter, in reference to the mutations of power. Bodin, also, clearly apprehended the mutual relations of man and nature, being the precursor of Montesquien in recognizing the powerful action of climate upon history, and the existence of permanent climatic laws. Though a man of far less genius than Machiavelli, whom he followed at an interval of some sixty years between their respective births, he deserved the encomium passed upon him by Bayle as one of the ablest Frenchmen of the sixteenth century.

ART. III.—1. *The History of England*. By DAVID HUME. Elizabeth.

2. *Life of Queen Elizabeth*. By MISS AGNES STRICKLAND. Philadelphia. 1850.

3. *The Court of Elizabeth*. By MISS LUCY AIKIN. London. 1823.

4. *Life of Mary, Queen of Scots*. By D. MACLEOD. New York. 1857.

ELIZABETH, the last and greatest of the Tudors, and, in the estimation of many, the greatest of English sovereigns, ascended the throne in 1558, and died in 1603. What a record of glory and shame! what an array of illustrious statesmen and crafty politicians, gallant soldiers and reckless adventurers, splendid courtiers and contemptible parasites, is embraced

within those five-and-forty years! The defeat of the Spanish Armada, the English settlement of America, the rise of the drama, the judicial murder of Mary, Queen of Scots, the cruel persecutions of both Catholics and Puritans, alternately brighten and darken this most interesting period of English history.

Much of Elizabeth's future greatness may be justly attributed to the excellent training of her youth, and the salutary adversity which banished her from the pomp and luxury of the Court. At ten years of age she possessed "wit and discretion," and those who knew her best at this early period were accustomed to say of her: "that God who had endowed her with such rare gifts, had certainly destined her to some distinguished employment in the world." At twelve, she was considerably advanced in the sciences, which, in that age, seldom formed part of the education of a princess. She understood the principles of mathematics, astronomy, and geometry. At seventeen, she was an accomplished Latin and Greek scholar, and spoke French, Italian, and Spanish with almost the same facility as her native tongue. She made history the subject of her profound study, and devoted three hours a day to it.

During the reign of Mary, the Princess Elizabeth was closely confined for several months in the Tower, and afterwards at Woodstock, for alleged complicity in the rebellion of Sir Thomas Wyatt. During this time she was not permitted to hold conversation with any except a few personal attendants, and her correspondence was carefully watched. It is related that while Elizabeth was a prisoner at Woodstock, she once heard a milkmaid singing pleasantly, and wished herself a milkmaid, saying that "her case was much better, and her life merrier than her own." After being confined at Woodstock for about a year, she was released, and admitted to an apparent reconciliation with Queen Mary, and allowed to reside permanently at Hatfield House. Elizabeth, in the days of her obscurity and misfortune, found a never failing source of comfort and pleasure in literature. "The Lady Elizabeth and I," writes her tutor, Roger Ascham, in 1555, "are reading together, in Greek, the orations of Æschines and Demosthenes. She reads before me, and, at first sight, comprehends not only the idiom of the language and the meaning of the orator, but the whole grounds of contention—the decrees, and the customs and manners of the Athenians, as you would greatly wonder to hear."

On the 17th of November, 1558, Queen Mary died. Elizabeth was then at Hatfield, whither a crowd of her late Majesty's courtiers, and several of her council, hastened to greet the rising sun. On the 23d of November, Elizabeth proceeded to London, attended by a brilliant train of noble ladies and gentlemen. She took up her residence at the Charter House, a splendid pile, which afforded ample accommodations for the royal retinue. After a few days, the Queen went in gorgeous procession to the Tower. On this occasion the streets from the Charter House were spread with fine gravel; singers and musicians were stationed along the way, and an immense concourse of people saluted her majesty with joyous acclamations. Elizabeth, sumptuously attired in purple velvet, and preceded by her heralds and great officers, passed along, mounted on her palfrey, returning the salutations of the humblest of her subjects with grace and affability.

A few years before, Elizabeth had entered the Tower by the Traitor's Gate, a terror-stricken and helpless prisoner, apprehensive of a speedy and ignominious death. She returned to it a great and powerful sovereign, in all the pomp and pride of royalty, surrounded by a glittering train of noble gentlemen, and welcomed by the shouts of a loyal and enthusiastic people. Among the attendants of the queen on this proud day was one who, like herself, returned with honor to the place of his former captivity—Lord Robert Dudley, already appointed Master of the Horse, afterwards created Earl of Leicester, who soon became the first favorite of Elizabeth, the chosen companion of her most private hours, and, as it was whispered about the court, her accepted lover, and an aspirant to her hand.

The first parliament which assembled after the accession of Elizabeth urged her, in the most respectful terms, to marry. To which she replied that she had no desire to change her present state of life, and declaring that, after her death, it should be sufficient for a marble stone to record that a queen, having reigned such a time, lived and died a virgin. If Elizabeth never married, it certainly was not for lack of suitors. She was young, and though not, strictly speaking, beautiful, she was tall, straight, with a round, full, fair face, brown eyes, white teeth, auburn hair, beautifully shaped hands, gay and agreeable in her conversation, and the most magnificent match in Europe. Her suitors were as numerous, and, in some cases, as importunate as those of the celebrated Pene-

lope. It is very probable that Shakespeare, in his description of the wooers who contended for the possession of the fair and wealthy Portia, refers to several of the royal suitors of Elizabeth, whose departure might be considered by her as a "gentle riddance;" and she might truly exclaim, with the Italian heiress: "While we shut the gate on one wooer, another knocks at the door."

The first of these royal fortune hunters was Philip the Second of Spain, the husband of the late Queen Mary. This was at once the most splendid, and least suitable match in Europe. His empire was one of the most powerful that the world had ever seen. In Europe, it embraced Spain, Portugal, the Netherlands, Tuscany, Parma, the Two Sicilies, and several other small states now belonging to France. In Asia, Philip the Second was master of the Philippines, and of all those rich Portuguese settlements on the coasts of Malabar and Caromandel, in the Peninsula of Malacca, and the Spice islands of the Eastern Archipelago. In America, his possessions were vast, rich, and productive. All the gold of the West, and all the spices of the East, were received and distributed by Spaniards. When at the height of his power, Philip's revenue amounted to four millions sterling; a sum eight times as large as England yielded to Elizabeth. But Philip was by policy and principle the leader of the Catholics; Elizabeth was, by policy at least, the leader of the Protestants, and she courteously declined the proffered honor. The next month, Philip consoled himself by marrying her fair namesake of France.

The Archduke Charles of Austria, was the next claimant for the honor of Elizabeth's hand. He was a prince of spotless reputation, accomplished manners, and promising talents, but a Catholic. The negotiation was interrupted and resumed several times, but as they never could come to any satisfactory arrangement on the perplexing subject of religion, the match was finally broken off. He was followed by Eric, the young and handsome King of Sweden, who sent a plenipotentiary, with magnificent presents to aid his suit. The royal coquette graciously received the presents, but refused the lover.

There were several of Elizabeth's own subjects who were led by the queen's favor, or their own ambition, to aspire to her hand. Among these English suitors, the first in rank and wealth was Henry Fitz Alan, Earl of Arundel. This accom-

plished gentleman boasted the blood of the Plantagenets, and of the ancient line of Charlemagne and St. Louis, and was nearly related to the queen as a descendant of Woodville, Earl of Rivers. His possessions were equal to his high rank and proud descent. He had won Elizabeth's gratitude, during the reign of Mary, by the boldness with which he had defended her in the court, the council, and the senate. In the summer of 1559, Elizabeth visited the Earl at his seat, Nonsuch, where she was entertained with extraordinary magnificence; banquets were given, masks and plays performed, and superb presents offered to the queen. Arundel persevered in his suit, until 1566, when losing all hopes of success, and finding his princely fortune much embarrassed by his splendid courtship, he asked permission of his royal mistress to retire for a time into Italy.

Another Englishman who presumed to raise his eyes to the august person of his sovereign was Sir William Pickering. Very little is known of this high-minded gentleman, except what is stated in a single paragraph by Camden in his *Annals* of the reign of Elizabeth: "Nor were lovers wanting at home, who deluded themselves with vain hopes of obtaining the queen in marriage, namely, Sir William Pickering a man of good family, though little wealth, who had obtained reputation by the cultivation of letters, by the elegance of his manners, and by his embassies to France and Germany." As no other mention of this person occurs in the history of the age it is supposed that he soon retired from the court of Elizabeth to devote himself to the tranquil pleasures of literature.

This great queen, whose genius and power were the admiration and dread of Europe, who ruled her people with masculine judgment, whose courage was invincible, was at the same time, a weak and vain woman, fond of flattery, a perfect coquette, who loved to see herself surrounded by a crowd of obsequious courtiers, from whom she exacted the most fulsome adulation, even to the last years of her life; affecting at sixty the romantic feelings, the sighs, the tears, and tastes, of a girl of sixteen. Her praises were sung by Spenser under the name of Gloriana, and by Shakespeare as the "Fair vestal throned by the West."

It was a vain age. A vain queen makes a vain court, and a vain court makes a vain nation. There is more attention to dress during the reign of a queen than a king,

for with women dress is one of the necessities of life ; with men, dress is a mere luxury. Elizabeth was said to have been the mistress of a million hearts and a thousand dresses. Her dresses were of the richest materials : purple and gold tissue, crimson satin, cloth of gold, cloth of silver, white velvet, ash-colored silk, white cypress, dove-colored velvet, drake's colored satin, and clay-colored satin. Her fans were of white and colored feathers, with gold handles set with precious stones or of crystal and heliotrope ; her parasol was crimson velvet damask, striped with Venetian gold and silver lace ; the handle of mother of pearl. The gallants of the court and city in the time of Elizabeth dressed with a gorgeous splendor in striking contrast with the dress of a gentleman in these days of solemn black. They wore gilt rapiers, and had roses on their shoes ; their doublets were of scented velvet covered with rich lace ; their hose were of silk and slashed ; their hats were of velvet, adorned with drooping feathers, or looped up with costly jewels.

From 11 until 12 o'clock, that is an hour before dinner was served up at the city taverns, was the most fashionable hour for the promenade in the middle aisle of St. Paul's church-yard. Here came the silken courtier, fresh-perfumed, from the levee, the rich citizen, and the master of fence ; here paced the actor, busy coming his part, side by side with the ruined spendthrift. There repaired the politician to talk news, and the spy to listen at his back. The alchemist, still reeking with the fumes of his elixir, resorted to St. Paul's to get an appetite for his hasty dinner, and the poor poet to muse over the dedication of his next poem. Here, Shakespeare found the originals of those characters which his genius has made immortal—gay gallants, like Mercutio, open-handed merchants, like Lorenzo, lovesick youths, like Romeo. "It was the fashion," says a gentle writer of the day, "for the principal gentry, lords, courtiers, and men of all professions, to meet in St. Paul's church by 11, and walk in the middle aisle until 12, and after dinner from 3 until 6." Everything that was going on at court, in the city, in the country, in France, in the Low Countries, on the Spanish Main, was here discussed—the last fashion, the latest scandal, the queen's new lover, Leicester, Raleigh, Hatton, Essex.

Music was a highly fashionable amusement at this time, and was cultivated and practised by men and women of the

first rank. Elizabeth herself was a skilful performer on the virginals, a musical instrument which resembled in some respects the modern piano. A *viol de gamba* was to be found in every house of quality, and even in the barber shops to occupy the leisure of the guests. A number of English composers, as well as performers, had attained great distinction; but Italy was then, as she is now, and always has been, the great mistress of the tuneful art. In 1588, Yonge published in London his *Musica Transalpina*, which gives the following very interesting notice of the state of music in the metropolis: "Since I first began to keep house in this city, it has been no small comfort unto me, that a great number of gentlemen and merchants of good account, as well of this realm as of foreign nations, have taken in good part such entertainments of pleasure as my poor ability was able to afford them, both by the exercise of music daily used in my house; and by furnishing them with books of that kind, yearly sent me out of Italy, and other places, which being for the most part Italian songs, are of that sweetness of air, very liked by all, but most in account with them that understand that language."

At the Court of Elizabeth, literature was as much patronized as at the Court of Augustus. It was the pride and pleasure of the illustrious statesmen and brilliant courtiers that surrounded the queen, to assist worthy men of letters. Camden secured the valuable patronage of Burleigh; Spenser enjoyed the intimate friendship of Raleigh, by whom he was persuaded to finish the *Fairy Queen*, which gained for him a pension, and the office of poet laureate; the Earl of Southampton bestowed upon Shakespeare the munificent donation of £1,000; Essex was the friend of Bacon when the latter was poor and unknown—he took him into his family, made him his secretary, and encouraged him in those profound speculations of philosophy which were destined to modify to so large an extent the long received and revered opinions of the ancients. The elegant Sackville was the greatest name in the poetical literature of England, at the time of Elizabeth's accession. It is to his vigorous genius, and clear, copious, and forcible style, which interested all classes of readers, that the rapid advance in this branch of literature is chiefly to be attributed. To Sackville, also, belongs the honor of having produced the first regular English tragedy. This piece—*Ferrex and Porrex*, otherwise called *Gorboduc*—

was founded on a story from English history; the plot was unnatural, but the language full of dignity and grandeur. It was represented at Whitehall on the 18th of January, 1561, for the entertainment of the queen and her court.

From this time may be dated the rise of the English drama. The theatre became the great attraction of the court and city; the idle resorted to it for pleasure, the studious for instruction, and all for amusement. Christopher Marlowe, a man of undoubted genius, though wanting in taste and judgment, astonished the world with his extravagant *Tamburlain the Great*; he also wrote a drama on the subject of King Edward II, which displayed a purer style and a finer sentiment than the former; and added fuel to the ferocious prejudices of the age by the fiend-like character of Barabas in *The Rich Jew of Malta*. Marlowe also composed a tragedy on the subject of Dr. Faustus, a subject which the master genius of Germany has rendered immortal. Beaumont, Fletcher, Massinger, and Ben Jonson form a cluster of dramatists, whose writings, after the lapse of more than two hundred and fifty years, are the delight of all lovers of an elegant and classic English literature. But the drama reached its zenith under the master spirit of Shakespeare, the pride and glory of England, the delight of the world.

It will ever be a matter of regret to the admirers of this extraordinary genius that the accounts of his personal history are so meagre and unsatisfactory. The eternal gratitude of the world would be bestowed on any faithful Boswell that had preserved a record of Shakespeare's sayings and doings, his daily life, his conversation, his habits, his manner of writing, his wit combats with Ben Jonson at the Devil's Tavern. Bulwer says "that genius, in an age when it is not appreciated, is the greatest curse that iron fate can inflict on man." Shakespeare was singularly fortunate in escaping this "great curse." The age appreciated his transcendent genius. He was beloved as a man, and admired and rewarded as a poet. Some of his friends were noble, powerful and generous. His amiable manners and sweet disposition made him the favorite of all the literary men of his time. Spenser speaks of him as a

Gentle spirit, from whose pen
Large streams of honey and sweet nectar flow.

Several of his incomparable plays were acted before the queen and court, and won the praises of majesty. A tradi-

tion has come down to us that Elizabeth, desiring to see Falstaff in love, the poet wrote the Merry Wives of Windsor to gratify her.

When Mary appointed Elizabeth her successor she exacted a profession of her adherence to the Catholic religion. Elizabeth complained that the queen should doubt the sincerity of her faith, and declared in the most solemn manner, "that she prayed the earth might open and swallow her alive if she were not a true Roman Catholic." She continued to attend mass for a month after her accession, until she discovered that the Protestant party was the most numerous and powerful, when she threw aside the mask which she had worn so long, abolished the mass, and commenced that system of persecution against the Catholics which has cast such a blemish on her name. Mary, with ignorant zeal, persecuted the Protestants; but Mary, as Macaulay says, did nothing for her religion which she was not prepared to suffer for it. She held it firmly under persecution. She fully believed it to be essential to salvation. If she burnt the bodies of her subjects, it was in order to rescue their souls. Elizabeth had no such pretext. In opinion, she was little more than half a Protestant; she had professed when it suited her, to be wholly Catholic, and, retained, to the last moment of her life, a fondness for much of the doctrine and much of the ceremony of that Church; yet she subjected it to a persecution, even more odious, if possible, than the persecution with which her sister harassed the Protestants. There may be some excuse for the massacres of Piedmont, and the *Autos-da-fe* of Spain, but what can be said in defense of a ruler who was *at once indifferent and intolerant*? Elizabeth might have established perfect freedom of conscience throughout her kingdom, without any danger to her government, and with the approbation of the majority of her subjects; but unhappily for herself, and unhappily for her country, she adopted a harsher policy; Catholics and Dissenters were ground down to the earth with penal laws; priests were hanged, drawn, and quartered; the people were fined and imprisoned or banished, and their property confiscated.

Elizabeth found an able and willing assistant in carrying out these tyrannical measures in her secretary, Cecil, Lord Burleigh. Macaulay, in half a dozen pointed sentences, has given us the character of this man: "He paid great attention

to the interests of the state, and great attention also to the interest of his own family. He never deserted his friends till it was very inconvenient to stand by them; was an excellent Protestant when it was not very advantageous to be a Catholic; recommended a tolerant policy to his mistress as strongly as he could recommend it without hazarding her favor; never put to the rack any person from whom it did not seem probable that very useful information might be derived; and was so moderate in his desires that he left only three hundred distinct landed estates.* He was a false friend and an implacable enemy.† He deserted his first patron, the Lord Protector Somerset, on his fall, and is even said to have drawn up the articles of impeachment against him; he next escaped from the ruin of the Duke of Northumberland and the party of Lady Jane Grey with his usual cunning. During Mary's reign, Burleigh had a different game to play, but he played it with unrivalled skill. He confessed himself and heard mass, apparently, with sincerity and devotion; and to satisfy his tender conscience, took a priest into his house, as private chaplain. So completely did he deceive Mary that he was selected to escort Cardinal Pole, the papal legate, from Brussels to London. He cultivated the friendship of the gentle Cardinal with great assiduity, and derived great advantage from his protection.

Towards the end of Mary's reign, he attached himself to the Princess Elizabeth, thus winning her gratitude and confidence. When Mary died, Cecil was one of the first at Elizabeth's feet, with expressions of loyalty and devotion. He was sworn in Privy Chancellor and Secretary of State before the new sovereign had left Hatfield; and he continued to serve her for forty years, in the highest offices. Burleigh was not a man of splendid genius or brilliant talents; he was rather a cold, crafty, calculating politician, than a great statesman. He had no generous enthusiasm for high, intellectual culture; no love for the beautiful and graceful in art; he neglected Spenser, although that delightful poet was recommended to his patronage by Elizabeth. But it cannot be denied that Burleigh, though not a brilliant, was eminently a very useful man, and his talents were duly appreciated

* Have we no prominent government functionary at the the present day whose character is very like that of Burleigh in the paltriest features of the latter? But whatever were the faults of Burleigh, we do not read that he violated the rights of asylum and hospitality; nor did he pretend to prophecy after the manner of the cup-toppers.

by the sagacious queen, who had an extraordinary judgment in choosing men fit for high office. To Elizabeth, Burleigh was meanly servile and obsequious; and by his ever-yielding complacency, never lost the favor of his royal mistress. To Burleigh alone, of all her gorgeous court, did she relax that strict etiquette to which she was unreasonably attached. He alone, by birth a plain Lincolnshire esquire, was allowed to sit in her presence, while the haughty heirs of the Howards and De Veres humbled themselves to the dust around him.

In that age, when to be honest was "to be one man picked out of ten thousand;" when judges were corrupt, courtiers venal, and the ladies of the court sold their influence for lucre, Burleigh neither professed nor acted according to a purer morality than those around him. He accepted bribes for ecclesiastical preferments; burned Catholics for doing through conviction, under Elizabeth, what he had done through cowardice under Mary; and wrote such choice advice as the following to his favorite son, Robert: "Be sure to keep some great man thy friend. But trouble him not for trifles. Compliment him often. Present him with many yet small gifts, and of little charge. And if thou have cause to bestow any great gratuity, let it be some such thing as may be daily in his sight. Otherwise, in this ambitious age, thou shalt remain as a hop without a pole, live in obscurity, and be made a foot-ball for every insulting companion." By his prudent and temporizing policy, Burleigh managed to swim for forty years in the stormy sea of politics, in which many better, bolder and more brilliant men were drowned.

Elizabeth's fondness for handsome men is well known. Many who rose to distinction owed their first success to the possession of a tall and elegant figure, and skill in graceful accomplishments. One of the most celebrated of these carpet knights was Sir Christopher Hatton, a young gentleman of respectable but decayed family. He had the good fortune, while studying law in one of the inns of court, to take part in a mask which was performed in the presence of the queen and court. His splendid person, and graceful dancing captivated Elizabeth's fancy, and she immediately bestowed upon him some flattering marks of attention which induced the dazzled youth to throw aside his law-books, and adopt the gay life of a courtier. His success was rapid and brilliant. He was first made captain of the queen's guard, and soon promoted to the office of vice-chamberlain, sworn

into the Privy Council, and finally made Lord High Chancellor. The extraordinary marks of favor lavished by Elizabeth on her new favorite, excited the envy of the whole court. Leicester, for the purpose of depreciating the accomplishment which had first attracted the queen's attention to Hatton, offered to introduce to her majesty a dancing-master who greatly excelled Hatton in the same dance in which he had been so much admired. "Pish!" exclaimed Elizabeth, contemptuously, "I will not see your man; it is *his* trade."

When Hatton had risen high in favor, he coveted a slice of the Bishop of Ely's garden, which consisted of twenty acres, on Holborn Hill. The bishop did not wish his see to be despoiled, and resisted the encroachment, though backed by the private orders of the queen. This refusal drew the following brief but pointed letter from her maiden Majesty: "Proud prelate: You know what you were before I made you what you are now. If you do not immediately comply with my request, *I will unfrock you, by G-d.* ELIZABETH." This letter had the desired effect.

Queen Elizabeth had the violent temper of her father, and when she let it loose, it was terrible: she once boxed Essex's ears in the council chamber: she spat on her courtiers; collared her nobles; struck her ladies, and often swore "By God's death all who served her were truly knaves," she stamped with her foot at bad news; walked up and down the privy chamber, and thrust her sword furiously through the tapestry. "Sometimes," writes Harrington, her god-son, "she was more than man, and often less than woman."

Elizabeth was accustomed to make a progress through the kingdom every summer, during which she conferred upon her nobles the expensive honor of entertaining herself and suit. A writer says of these progresses: "They seemed to have no other object than the gratification of her love of popular applause, and her taste for magnificent entertainments which cost her nothing."

In the summer of 1564, Elizabeth visited the University of Cambridge. She was attended by Burleigh the Chancellor of the University, and by Dudley, its High Steward, together with a gorgeous train of ladies and gentlemen. When she reached the door of King's College Chapel, the chancellor, kneeling, bade her welcome, and the orator of the day addressed her for half an hour, in a strain of fulsome adulation.

"When he had done, she commended him, and much marvelled that his memory did so well serve him repeating such divers and sundry matters; saying that she would answer him in Latin, but for fear she should speak false Latin; and then they would laugh at her." She was afterwards entertained with a Latin play on the story of Dido, and an English play called *Ezechias*.

Soon after her return from this visit, Elizabeth raised her favorite Dudley to the dignity of Baron of Denbigh and Earl of Leicester, accompanying these honors with the splendid gift of Kenilworth Castle, park, and manor. These extraordinary proofs of the queen's favor were regarded by the ambitious earl and the court as the preparation for a still higher honor—the highest that Elizabeth could bestow, the crown matrimonial. Leicester possessed all those personal advantages which were calculated to please the fancy and move the heart of Elizabeth: an elegant and graceful figure, an exquisite address, a consummate art of flattering, courtly manners, an air of the most devoted gallantry. There seemed to be but one obstacle to the realization of Leicester's splendid dream: he had been several years married to the beautiful Amy Robsart; she was, however, made away with at this opportune moment, and her husband was universally believed to have been her murderer. Sir Walter Scott has founded on the sad story of this lovely lady one of the most fascinating romances that adorns English literature. Leicester committed the horrid crime in vain. Elizabeth was too fond of power to allow any one to share it with her. Leicester reigned over her heart, but she reigned supreme over her fair kingdom. He retained her favor and confidence to the last moment of his life. Her preference for him blinded her to the many odious vices that disfigured his character. He was haughty, hypocritical, false; without honor, without gratitude, without humanity; his debaucheries were the scandal of that not over squeamish court, and he atoned not for these blemishes by any lofty courage, or abilities either as a statesman or commander.

Elizabeth showed her attachment to Leicester in the most open and marked manner. Once she said to the French ambassador: "I cannot live without seeing him every day; he is like my lap-dog, so soon as he is seen anywhere they say I am at hand, and wherever I am, it may be said that he is there also." She did not hesitate to tell Sir James Mel-

ville, the Scotch envoy at her court, that she esteemed Leicester as her brother and best friend, whom she would have married had she ever minded to have taken a husband. Melville was present by the special request of Elizabeth when Dudley was made Earl of Leicester and Baron of Denbigh, "which," he says, "was done at Westminster with great solemnity, the queen herself helping to put on his mantle, he sitting upon his knees before her with great gravity. But she could not refrain from putting her hand on his neck, smilingly tickling him; the French Ambassador and I standing by. Then she turned and asked me how I liked him. I answered, that as he was a worthy servant, so he was happy who had a princess that could discover and reward good service. "She took me to her bed chamber," continues this lively writer, "and opened a little cabinet, wherein were divers little pictures wrapped within paper, and their names written with her own hand upon the papers. Upon the first that she took up was written, 'My Lord's picture.' I held the candle and pressed to see that picture so named; she appeared loath to let me see it, yet my importunity prevailed for a sight thereof, and I found it to be the Earl of Leicester's picture."

Leicester's ascendancy at the court caused him to be regarded with envy by most of the nobles and courtiers; they hated him for his pride; they hated him for his power, but fear compelled them to assume an appearance of respect towards him, and interest made them court him with costly gifts. But there was one high-spirited and open-hearted soldier who would not condescend to bow down in submission to the minion of the queen; and Ratcliffe, Earl of Sussex, and Dudley, Earl of Leicester, maintained an open quarrel at court, until Elizabeth commanded them to be reconciled. But death alone could terminate enmity such as theirs.

These were times of daring enterprises and glorious discoveries. Every week voyagers landed at English seaports fresh from struggles with Indians and Spaniards, their necks strung with pearls from the East and jewels from the Brazils; carrying strange birds on their wrists from the woods of the Bermudas, or leading in leashes the ferocious tigers and leopards of Bengal. English travellers explored Muscovy, Persia, and Hindoostan. English ships were in every sea. English flags waved over the ports of Cypress, Tripoli,

Constantinople, Venice, Genoa, and the far East; English faces were to be seen in the streets of Jerusalem, Alexandria, Cairo and Rhodes. The Great Kahn, and the Emperor of Russia entered into an alliance with England; the Emperor of Ethiopia and the Llama of Thibet had both heard of Queen Elizabeth. Stories were told of countries in the west whose golden riches surpassed the gorgeous day-dreams of poets, or the most marvellous descriptions in the Arabian Nights; it was asserted by grave historians, writing of the court of the Emperor of Guiana, that "all the vessels of his house, table, and kitchen were of gold and silver; he had in his wardrobe hollow statues of gold, which seemed giants, and the figures of all the beasts, birds, trees, and herbs, which the earth bringeth forth, and of all the fishes that the sea or waters of his kingdom breed; they say the uncas had a garden of pleasure near Peru in South America, where they went to recreate themselves, which had all kinds of garden herbs, flowers, and trees, of gold and silver, an invention of magnificence until then never seen." In a vain attempt to discover this El Dorado, Sir Walter Raleigh exhausted his fortune, and received in return the calumnies of his enemies and the frowns of his queen, whom he had served so long and so well.

In November, 1580, Francis Drake arrived in Plymouth harbor, from his voyage around the world. This arrival excited the greatest interest all over the country. National vanity was flattered by the idea that this great and novel enterprise should have been successfully achieved by an Englishman. The courage, skill, and perseverance of the daring navigator were deservedly extolled, and both himself and his ship became the object of public curiosity and wonder. The Queen visited his ship in state, and was entertained with a splendid banquet. She conferred on the valiant Drake the order of knighthood, and received him with favor. During his voyage of three years, Drake had plundered some of the rich Spanish settlements in South America; the wealth which he brought home, and the extraordinary tales told of the countries he had visited, set half the ardent youths of England wild to embark on expeditions of pillage and discovery.

The most celebrated of these enterprising gentlemen was Walter Raleigh, the sailor, soldier, scholar, poet, philosopher, historian, and courtier. In early life, he had seen ser-

vice in the wars of the Huguenots in France, in the Netherlands, and in Ireland. He accompanied his brother-in-law, the famous English Admiral, Sir Humphery Gilbert, on one of his voyages to America. Some years afterwards, in 1584-5, the first English colony was established in America under the auspices of Raleigh. Tobacco was introduced into England by these settlers. The practice of smoking soon became so general that it was introduced at Court, and even tolerated by the queen in her own presence, as the following anecdote affords amusing evidence: "One day she was inquiring very minutely as to the various virtues which Raleigh attributed to his favorite herb, and he assured her that no one understood them better than himself, for he was so well acquainted with all its qualities, that he could even tell her Majesty the specific weight of the smoke of every pipe-full he consumed." The queen to whom this assertion seemed incredible, laid a considerable wager with him that he could not prove his words, not believing it possible to subject so immaterial a substance as smoke to the laws of the balance.—Raleigh, however, demonstrated the fact by weighing in her presence the tobacco before he put it into his pipe, and the ashes after he had consumed it, and convinced her Majesty that the deficiency proceeded from the evaporation. Elizabeth admitted that this conclusion was sound logic; and when she paid the bet, merrily told him "that she knew of many persons who had turned their gold into smoke, but he was the first who had turned his smoke into gold."

In the sixteenth century, the Thames was a bright, beautiful, stream, on which floated two thousand boats, which gave support to four thousand watermen. The river was gay with clouds of young gallants going to the theatre, and with ladies returning to the palace. Elizabeth was fond of taking an airing on the noble stream, which she did in grand style, in the company of her ladies and favorite courtiers, with the oarsmen rowing to the sound of flutes and trumpets. Shakespeare's description of Cleopatra sailing on the Cydnus is supposed to have been meant for Elizabeth sailing on the Thames.

Raleigh's first introduction to Queen Elizabeth, was on one of these occasions. In her progress from the palace to the royal barge, Elizabeth, surrounded by her officers and courtiers, came to a moist spot of ground, and hesitated for a moment to advance, upon which Raleigh, stepping forward, gracefully and gallantly spread his richly embroidered cloak

on the earth. The queen regarded with pleasure the handsome young soldier who had secured for her so fair a foot-cloth, and hastily passed on and embarked in her barge without saying a word; but soon a messenger was sent to summon the fortunate youth to the royal presence, and this was the beginning of Sir Walter Raleigh's rise at court, where in a short time his wit and polished manners made him so great a favorite as to excite the jealousy of Leicester. Raleigh was distinguished for the exceeding magnificence of his dress.—At the tourney he wore a suit of silver armor; his sword and belt were studded with diamonds, pearls, and rubies. His Court dress was said to be loaded with jewels to the value of sixty thousand pounds sterling, and even his shoes glittered with precious stones. It was in this sumptuous apparel that he attended on his royal mistress as captain of her guard, when she made those visits to her nobility which are known by the name of progresses.

But Raleigh could turn without regret from the elegant pleasures of the court to the sweet retirement of his seat at Sherborne; he could turn from the flowery fields of poetry to the unadorned paths of science; he could turn from philosophic speculation to musical composition, from painting and ornamental gardening to historical and antiquarian researches, for he was no carpet knight, fit only

“To caper nimbly in a lady's chamber
To the lascivious pleasing of a lute.”

His was the noble spirit that loved daring deeds; he longed for the trumpet's roar, the “marshalling in arms—the battle's magnificently stern array;” his glorious actions, his voyages and discoveries, form a part of his country's history. This splendid lover of literature and patron of literary men is said to have been the founder of the famous Mermaid Club, which held its meetings at the tavern of that name in Fleet street, and of which Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, Beaumont, Fletcher, Donne, and other geniuses of that brilliant age were members.

The most agreeable gentleman and most versatile genius at the Court of Elizabeth was Sir Philip Sidney, the courtier, the scholar, the soldier, the poet, the flower of chivalry, the mirror of knighthood, *sans peur et sans reproche*. The youth of this singularly-gifted person was pure, beautiful, and full of promise; he was generous and amiable in disposition; he evinced a love of knowledge and habits of observation and

inquiry which were the marvel and delight of his teachers ; and had such a sweetness of demeanor and so bright a wit that his father fondly called him "*lumen familiæ suæ.*" He was presented to Elizabeth by his all-powerful uncle, the Earl of Leicester. The queen, who had a keen eye, and an appreciating heart for handsome and elegant men, was delighted with the grace and beauty of Sidney, and she gave him an appointment which would keep him about her person ; the ornament of the most polished court in Europe, the accomplished scholar, the most gallant cavalier of his age, was content to serve as cup-bearer to her Majesty. "He was so essential to the English court," says quaint old Fuller, "that it seemed maimed without his company, being complete master both of matter and language."

In 1576, being then only twenty-two years old, Sidney was sent as ambassador to the Court of Vienna. We are told that Elizabeth, in making this appointment, had much regard to the handsome face and enchanting address of the ambassador, but she also saw, as did Burleigh and Walsingham, that among the young gentlemen of England they could not find another who possessed his talents, integrity, and persuasive eloquence. The young diplomatist departed with a splendid retinue, and travelled in great state through Germany. He was received at the court of the Emperor with flattering courtesy. Sidney successfully accomplished the object of his mission, and returned to England and to the court to be petted and caressed by the queen and her fair ladies. It is said that when Sir Philip Sidney might have obtained the crown of Poland, Elizabeth refused to further his advancement, saying "that she could not afford to part with the choicest jewel of her court." He, in a tone of chivalrous loyalty, replied : "And I would rather remain the subject of Queen Elizabeth, than accept of the highest preferment in a foreign land."

In 1587 was perpetrated that deadly crime which has covered the name of Elizabeth Tudor with eternal infamy. All the eloquent pens of the world could not remove the bloody stain which the murder of Mary Queen of Scots has fastened upon the memory of her vindictive rival. Elizabeth had hated Mary from the time she, (the Queen of Francis II, the boy-king of France,) had assumed, as the great-granddaughter of Henry VII, the arms of England jointly with those of France and Scotland. Elizabeth had fomented dis-

cords in nearly every country in Europe. She had assisted the Huguenots with men and money in their rebellions against their lawful sovereign; she had sent an army composed of the flower of the English youth, and commanded by her favorite noble, to aid the people of Holland in their revolt against the King of Spain; and when Mary, after the death of her young husband, returned to Scotland, a lovely widow of nineteen, Elizabeth commenced that hateful system of corruption which terminated in Mary's exile, imprisonment, and death. There was scarcely a prominent noble in Scotland who was not bought by the gold of Elizabeth. Mary's ministers, with one exception, some of her personal attendants, her very ambassador at the English court, were all in the pay of Elizabeth. Mary's beauty, accomplishments, and sweet, attractive grace, made her the belle of Europe. There was hardly a prince then living who did not covet the hand of the lovely Queen of Scots.

By a series of misfortunes, which are known to every reader of history, and therefore not to be repeated here, Mary fell into the hands of her deadliest enemy—"her good cousin and sister"—Elizabeth Tudor. Mary, by birth a queen, the descendant of Robert Bruce, and a long line of Kings, in defiance of law, and justice, and mercy, was dragged from prison to prison, placed under the charge of inhuman jailors, thrust in damp and unwholesome chambers, deprived of her necessary attendants, robbed of her money, jewels, and private papers. But what must be done with the royal captive? When some of the ministers of Elizabeth urged her to put the Queen of Scots to death, saying: "That she would have neither rest nor security while the Scottish queen was in existence," Elizabeth, with a burst of generous feeling, exclaimed, "Can I put to death the bird that, to escape the pursuit of the hawk, has fled to my feet for protection? honor and conscience forbid!"

But why is that royal lady held a prisoner? What are her faults? They are two, which Elizabeth can neither forget nor forgive. She is next heir to the throne of England, and she is young and beautiful. She will not resign the throne of Scotland, nor her title to the throne of England. "Never will I yield my crown," writes Mary from her prison at Bolton, in 1569, "for I am deliberately resolved rather to die than to do so, and the last words I shall utter in my life shall be those of a queen of Scotland."

In the fourteenth year of her imprisonment Mary addressed a most eloquent and touching letter to Elizabeth, in which she justly accused her of having corrupted her subjects, and excited them to rebel against her, and to make attempts on her life. She also complains of the horrid cruelty of not allowing her to have any intelligence of her son, and of the efforts made to prejudice him against his mother.

Elizabeth and her ministers were anxious to get rid of Mary. The latter dreaded the possibility of her becoming Queen of England by the death of Elizabeth, who was nine years her senior. Their guilty consciences told them that they had gone too far to hope for forgiveness, even from the gentle and too forgiving Queen of Scots. Elizabeth tried to persuade Sir Amias Paulet, Mary's jailor, to assassinate her. But he, bigoted, rude, and ruthless soldier as he was, refused to commit the bloody crime. Leicester recommended, what he had often practised successfully himself, the sure and silent process of poison. He even sent a minister over from Holland to convince the tender conscience of Walsingham of the Christian lawfulness of thus putting one's enemies to death.

Finally it was determined to bring her to public trial, upon the charge of conspiring with foreigners to procure the invasion of England, and the death of Elizabeth. Witnesses were bribed, and racked, and made to confess whatever was required of them. The court before which her mock trial came up, was composed of forty-six peers, privy councillors, and judges, among whom were Cecil Paulet, Walsingham, and other personal enemies of Mary. "Never," says Mr. Macleod, "never, in the pomp of her youthful royalty, did she stand before the splendid chivalry of France, or amid the ancient nobles of her own kingdom, with such stately dignity, with such distinguished pride of innocence, as now, in helplessness and hidden pain, she confronted the ministers of her terrible rival's hatred." Mary, a defenceless woman, came alone to meet the ablest lawyers of England. She was ignorant of all their forms and technicalities—even of their laws; she was refused the assistance of any counsel; she had been nineteen years a prisoner under close espionage; her health was gone. Yet, fearlessly, she nerved her royal heart to confront the terrible array, and, alone and unaided as she was, for two whole days she baffled them. She told them that "*they had already condemned her.*" They declared her to be guilty of both charges, and pronounced upon her the

sentence of death. This was signed by the whole forty-six although ten of them had not been present at her trial. When Elizabeth signed the death warrant she signed the death of her own reputation forever.

The greatest event of this reign, crowded with great events, was the defeat of the Spanish armada in 1588. It was alleged that for many years, the English had been giving offence to Philip the Second; that they had sent expeditions to plunder his unprotected settlements in America; that they had seized his richly freighted ships, had aided and encouraged his rebellious subjects in the Netherlands, &c. Philip, it was claimed, had patiently endured all these accumulated insults, but at last he determined upon ample revenge. He was engaged during several years in preparing a fleet which he proudly called the *Invincible Armada*, for the subjugation of England. The resources of the Spanish monarch made him a formidable enemy. His navy was vast, and unrivalled at that time in the world. His exchequer was rich with the gold of the New World. His army was composed of the best troops, commanded by the most experienced officers in Europe.

Elizabeth never appeared greater than on this trying occasion. Her mind rose with the emergency, and she assumed a strength and cheerfulness, in preparation, which were truly noble. A council of war was held; the militia were mustered, equipped and trained. A contemporary writer says: "Within a short time, the whole of England rose simultaneously in arms. There was not a corner of the land which did not ring with preparation; and especially the maritime counties, from Cornwall all along southward to Kent, and thence eastward to Lincolnshire, were so furnished with soldiers, that there was no place for the landing of any foreign forces. Before they were within forty-eight hours of the place, above twenty thousand fighting men on horseback, and on foot, with all manner of munition, provisions, and carriages, under the principal nobles of the counties and captains of the greatest knowledge." In addition to these preparations a camp consisting of twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse was established at Tilbury, under the command of the Earl of Leicester. The brilliant Essex, then a youth of twenty-two, and already high in the queen's favor, was placed in command of the cavalry.

The camp at Tilbury was full of life and gaiety. Eliza-

both resided in the neighborhood, and frequently visited it to hold conferences with the chiefs. When the Armada began to be daily expected, she reviewed the army in person. On this occasion she appeared in armor, holding a marshal's truncheon in her hand, and riding on a war horse. Leicester and Essex held her bridle rein. Placing herself at the head of her admiring troops, she made the following memorable oration :

"My loving people! we have been persuaded by some that are careful of our safety, to take heed how we commit ourselves to armed multitudes, for fear of treachery ; but I assure you, that I do not desire to live to distrust my loving and faithful subjects. Let tyrants fear! I have always so behaved myself that, under God, I have placed my chiefest strength and safeguard in the loyal hearts and good will of my people. And, therefore, I am come among you at this time, not for my recreation and disport, but being resolved in the midst and heat of the battle, to live and die among you all; to lay down for my God, for my kingdom, my honor and my blood, even in the dust. I know I have but the body of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart of a king; and of a king of England, too; and think foul scorn that Parma, or Spain, or any prince in Europe, should dare to invade the borders of my realms: to which rather than any dishonor should grow by me, I myself will take up arms; *I myself will be your general, judge, and rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field.* I know already by your forwardness, that you have deserved rewards and crowns; and we do assure you, on the word of a prince, they shall be duly paid you. In the meantime, my lieutenant-general shall be in my stead, than whom never prince commanded a more noble and worthy subject; not doubting by your obedience to my general, by your concord in the camp, and your valor in the field, we shall shortly have a famous victory over those enemies of my God, of my kingdom, and of my people."

On the 20th of May, 1588, the Armada, consisting, according to the Spanish historians, of 152 ships of all kinds, and carrying 8,000 seamen, and 19,000 soldiers, sailed from the Tagus, amidst the shouts of a multitude which believed that the doom of England was sealed. The decks were thronged with an array of chivalry such as had seldom before been collected together. The Generalissimo, the officers under him, and the gentlemen volunteers, who belonged to the noblest families of Spain, were attended by their suits, physicians, and domestics. Every want had been provided for, every wish anticipated with the gay splendor befitting more

* It were well if certain male rulers of the present day had the courage to make such a speech as this, even though they would dress in petticoats (woman-like), rather than expose their precious lives in the field in defence of the country of which they are unfortunately the head, instead of the foot,—the position for which they are best suited both by nature and education.

the progress of an Asiatic potentate than the passage of an army against a powerful antagonist. A co-operating army of 30,000 had been collected in the Netherlands, under the Prince of Parma, one of the best generals of the age, while the famous Duke of Guise was conducting 12,000 men to the coast of Normandy, in expectation of being received on board the Armada and landed on the west coast of England.

It would be foreign to our purpose to give a complete account of this celebrated sea-fight; suffice it to say that the heavy and unwieldy galleons of Spain were no match for the light, active, and easily manœuvred ships of England, commanded by the most skilful captains in the world: Drake, Raleigh, Hawkins, Frobisher. Many Spanish vessels were destroyed by the English; many more were lost on the coasts of Scotland and Ireland. Of all that proud Armada which was to sweep the navy of England from the ocean, only fifty-three vessels returned to Spain, and not a single Spaniard set foot on English soil but as a prisoner.

This signal victory was celebrated all over England by sermons, thanksgivings, bonfires, and other demonstrations of joy. On Sunday, 19th of November, Elizabeth, attended by her privy council, surrounded by a gorgeous train of nobles, with the foreign ambassadors, judges, and bishops, went to St. Paul's Cathedral to return thanks to the God of Battles for the great victory with which He had blessed her arms. The queen was seated in a magnificent chariot, formed like a throne, raised on four pillars, and surmounted by a canopy with an imperial crown on the top. After the thanksgiving and litany were sung by the whole body of the clergy, Elizabeth drove back in the same state to her palace by torchlight, amid the shouts of her people. Two medals were struck to commemorate the defeat of the Armada; one represented a fleet retiring under full sail, with the motto "*Venit vidit fugit*;" the other, fire-ships scattering a fleet; the motto "*Dux flamina facti*"—a compliment to Elizabeth, who is said to have suggested the employment of these engines of destruction, which proved so fatal to the Spanish fleet.

The queen's joy was somewhat marred by the death of Leicester, who had for thirty years exercised an almost unlimited influence over the court, the kingdom, and herself. He was succeeded in Elizabeth's favor by the noble, frank, and generous Earl of Essex, the idol of the city, the favorite

of the army, and the delight of the court. But all his genius, all his accomplishments, all his varied talents did not save him from the block. Essex had been an early and generous patron of Bacon, yet Bacon had the unblushing hardihood to appear as his chief prosecutor on his trial, and took the greatest pains to have him condemned. Not content with this, he wrote a book in which his matchless wit and withering satire were exerted to blacken the memory of Essex. Truly has it been said that Bacon was at once the soaring angel and the creeping snake—for his philosophy he scaled the heavens, for his morals he grovelled upon the earth.

Elizabeth's last years were not happy. Her favorite ministers and courtiers—those in whom she had trusted most were tired of her, and were paying court to the heir of the crown, James VI. She had out-lived her charms, her grandeur, and the love of her subjects. She was now old, ugly, peevish. All her wealth and power could not save her from death, which she knew was approaching, and which she dreaded with such a shrinking fear.

Palida mors æquo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas Regnumque turres.

Elizabeth died on the 24th of March, 1603, in the seventieth year of her age and forty-fifth of her reign. She was indisputably a great sovereign. Her vigor, her vigilance, her penetration, and singular talents for government, merit the highest praise, and have rarely been surpassed. When she ascended the throne, England did not rank higher than a second rate power. She left it among the first, if not the very first of European States.

ART IV.—1. *Philosophy of Natural History.* SMELLIE. New Edition, London : 1864.

2. *Lettres Philosophiques sur l'intelligence des animaux.* Par C. G. LEROY. Paris : 1862.

3. *New System of the Natural History of Animals.* By PETER HILL. 3 vols. Edinburgh : 1791.

4. *Discours sur la nature des animaux.* Par M. BUFFON.

5. *De l'instinct et de l'intelligence des animaux, &c.* Par M. FLOURENS. Paris : 1851.

6. *Quod Animalia bruta ratione utantur melius homine.* J. ROZARIO.

7. *Discours sur la methode.* Par M. DESCARTES.

8. *Oeuvres de FRÉDÉRIC CUVIER.* Paris : 1859.

That faculty of the lower animals which is alternately

called instinct, sagacity and reason, has awakened a deep interest among thinking men in all ages. The books that have been written upon it would form quite a large library; still the question is by no means settled, although a decided majority of the naturalists of the present day are in favor of the theory that animals reason.

At first sight this might seem an infringement on the noblest prerogative of man; and the fact has caused many to deny it without investigation or discussion. But a little reflection would show that it is no more derogatory to man to admit that an animal is possessed of the faculty of reason than it is to admit that he has blood in his veins or flesh on his bones. If it is not his own fault there is no danger that man will be confounded with the brute; so well defined and broadly marked is the difference between the two that it is puerile to deny to the latter any attribute that he can be said to have any claim to, lest the concession might place him on an equality with the former—the obvious truth being that, let us concede or admit what we may, we make no animal a whit more like us than he is in spite of any argument which our pride and arrogance may prompt us to adduce against him.

Nor is it in any manner inconsistent with the Christian religion to believe that animals reason in certain circumstances. That opinion has been entertained by the most pious and most orthodox. When Rozarius the nuncio of Pope Clement VII. wrote his celebrated work in 1517, to show that not only do brutes reason, but that they sometimes do so better than men, he dedicated it to the two prelates which he regarded as most distinguished for their piety, namely, to the Bishop of Arras, and to Cardinal Madruce, Bishop of Trent. We are not aware that this has ever been translated from the original Latin in which it was written; but it is certain that three editions of it appeared—two at Paris, in 1547 and 1645, and one at Amsterdam in 1554. When it is borne in mind what little attention was bestowed on the study of nature at this time—may how few were capable of reading at all, it will be readily understood that the arguments of Rozarius in defence of the lower animals were founded in truth and nature. But the curious reader can verify the fact for himself, even if the remarkable work referred to is not within his reach; for scarcely a writer has discussed the subject since who has not borrowed largely from Rozarius; but many have done so without giving any

intimation of the source from which they had drawn their inspiration.

It is almost universally admitted that it is the vanity of man which has led him to depreciate the faculties of the lower animals; he would compare himself with none but the Creator of all. In his mind the prevailing characteristic of all the rest of creation is stupidity. If observation and experience render it impossible to believe that there is intelligence among the lower animals, then another theory has to be invented to account for those actions and habits which seem to be the results of intelligence.

This is what Descartes has done in maintaining that animals are but machines, which no more do anything of their own accord than does the watch or the clock. It is hardly necessary to remark that this is the weakest point in the Cartesian philosophy; indeed no philosophy contains anything more absurd, or more easily refuted. There is good reason to believe that the author himself saw when it was too late that he committed a grave error in adopting such a theory. Be this as it may his own reasoning on the subject flatly contradicts it.

The two great arguments on which this philosopher depends to show that brutes are but automata are the following: That they never know how to use words or other signs as we do to make known to others their thoughts; and that although they may do certain things as well, or even better than any of us, they invariably fail in others, from which it follows that they do not act by consciousness, but *only by the disposition of their organs*.^{*} In the same essay the philosopher observes: "It is remarkable that there are no men so senseless and stupid—even among the insane, who are not capable of putting together several words by which they can make known their thoughts; and that on the contrary there is no other animal, however perfect or well brought up, that can do the same. And does this not prove," he continues, "not only that brutes have less reason than man, but that they have none at all."[†]

The philosopher claims that all ought to be satisfied with these two arguments; but knowing that there are always

^{*} Discours sur la méthode, 5e partie.

[†] Et ceci ne témoigne pas seulement que les bêtes ont moins de raison que les hommes, mais qu'elles n'en ont point du tout.—*Discours sur la méthode*.

some who, although not brutes, are difficult to be convinced, he adds a third, which his disciples regard as final and unanswerable. "It is very remarkable," he says, "that although there are several animals which exhibit more industry than we in a few of their actions we see at the same time that they exhibit none at all in many others, so that what they do better than we does not prove that they have reason, for if it did it would show that they had more than any of us, and should do everything better; but it proves rather that they have none, and that it is nature that acts in them *according to the disposition of their organs*; the same as we see a clock, which, although only composed of wheels and springs, can count the hours and measure time more accurately than we can with our prudence."*

That Descartes reasons in this manner only because he has a theory to maintain which he regards as essential to his whole system we have abundant evidence. Thus in one of his published letters in which he gives his views frankly as a man, not as the founder of a sect, he says: "It is necessary however to remark that I speak of the thought, not of the life or sentiment, for I would deprive no animal of his life. I do not even deny them sentiment as much as it depends on the organs of the body. Thus, my opinion is not so cruel to the animals."† It is needless to ask whether a mere machine, or automaton, can be said to have sentiment; and if it cannot what becomes of the arguments of Descartes against the intelligence of animals?

Such arguments could only have excited ridicule had they been put forward by an ordinary author. This we know from experience, for Descartes was not the first of the moderns who attempted to prove that the lower animals are but machines. Long before the philosopher was born, Gomezius Pereira, a Spanish physician, who lived about the middle of the sixteenth century, wrote a book, the chief object of which was to prove the truth of the same theory;‡ but it does not seem to have made any impression on the thinkers of its time.

It has been far otherwise, however, with the work of

* Discours sur la méthode.

† Je ne leur refuse pas même le sentiment autant qu'il dépend des organes du corps. Ainsi mon opinion n'est pas si cruelle aux animaux. — *Lettre*, Œuvres, Tome X.

‡ It is entitled *Antoniana Margarita*.

Descartes, for his theory has been adopted partially or wholly by some of the most illustrious investigators of modern times, including even Buffon the naturalist, although the latter does not go quite so far as Descartes in his depreciation of the lower animals. He accords them life, sentiment and the consciousness of present existence; but he denies them thought, reflection and memory, or the consciousness of past existence, without which qualities, he maintains, they cannot and do not reason. "If I have rendered myself intelligible," says the great naturalist, "it must have been seen that far from depriving the animals of all, I accord them all, with the exception of thought and reflection; they have sentiment, they have it even in a higher degree than we have; they also possess the consciousness of their present existence, but not that of their past existence; they have sensations, but they lack the faculty of comparing them; that is to say, the power which produces ideas, for ideas are but sensations compared, or, to speak more correctly, associations of sensations."*

Descartes and Buffon are great names, but not greater in natural history than Cuvier, Flourens, Leroy, Condillac, &c., all of whom admit that the lower animals reason. Buffon did not depend so much on observation and experiment as Cuvier, and the more recent naturalists; in other words he did not pursue his researches so much in accordance with the inductive system. This fully accounts for the different opinions entertained by the two philosophers. What Cuvier tells us is not what he has learned from others, or from books, but what he has learned from observation and experience. Thus, in speaking of what he has carefully observed for years in the habits of the ourang-outang he remarks: "Let us consider the action reported in any light we may it will be difficult not to see in it the result of a combination of ideas, and not to recognise in the animal capable of it, the faculty of generalizing." Now be it remembered that according to both Descartes and Buffon the power of reasoning consists in the faculty of combining and generalizing ideas.

M. Flourens, one of the most eminent naturalists of the present day, fully corroborates the views of Cuvier, admitting that the lower animals possess every attribute supposed to

* Discours sur la nature des animaux, tome iv., p. 41.

result from the reasoning faculty with the sole exception of reflection; and this he regards as constituting a sufficient distinction between man and the brute. After having carefully reviewed the opposite opinions of Buffon and Cuvier he remarks: "Nothing now remains but to indicate the limit which separates the intelligence of man from that of the lower animals. Here the ideas of Cuvier rise, and they are not the less reliable on this account. Animals receive through their senses impressions similar to those which we receive through ours; they retain like us the traces of those impressions; and those impressions, being retained, form for them, as they do for us, numerous and varied associations; they combine them; they compare them; they deduce judgments from them; they possess therefore intelligence. But all their intelligence is reduced to this: their intelligence cannot contemplate itself, cannot see itself, cannot recognise itself; they have no reflection, that supreme faculty of man which enables him to examine his own mind, in short to know himself. Reflection thus defined is then the limit which separates the intelligence of man from that of animals."* M. Flourens does not come to this conclusion without having fully investigated the subject; but before we take any notice of the facts which he adduces in proof of his views we will glance briefly at those entertained by those who had devoted most attention to the subject before the time of either Pereira or Descartes; and also note some of those animal habits and actions from which they seem to have drawn their conclusions.

Every student of natural history is acquainted with the interesting account given by Aristotle, in the eighth and ninth books of his Natural History, of the character and habits of the whole animal world. It seems to us impossible to read these carefully and believe the well attested facts which they contain and still deny that animals reason. "All animals," he says, "present traces of their *moral dispositions*, though these distinctions are most remarkable in man. In most of them, as we remarked when speaking of their various parts they appear to exhibit gentleness or ferocity, courage or cowardice, fear or boldness, violence or cunning; and many

* Recherches expérimentales sur les propriétés et les fonctions du système nerveux dans les animaux vertébrés. Par M. Flourens. Paris: 1842.

of them exhibit something like rational consciousness."* The Stagirite then proceeds to enumerate various familiar evidences of design, the adaptation of a means to an end, and many other remarkable attributes exhibited by the lower animals. He was of opinion that all the singing birds carefully study their songs. He had no doubt that the nightingales teach their young ones to sing, and spend much of their time in doing so. This he thought was the reason why those brought up in cages, and which have not had the benefit of their parents' instructions, never attain the same perfection as the latter. We all know from experience that birds learning to sing manifest the utmost emulation, and that sometimes they exert themselves so violently that the vanquished fall down dead.

Plato in his glowing picture of the golden age under Saturn includes among the chief advantages enjoyed by man his communication with beasts, of which inquiring and informing himself he knew the true qualities and differences of them all. The same philosopher was in the habit of asking why may not the defect which prevents communication between them and us be as much on our part as on theirs. At all events, there is nothing very strange in our being unable to understand the language of birds and beasts, if such they have, since we cannot understand that of one-twentieth of our own species. For example, how many are there around us, on every side, at the present moment, to whom the language of a Frenchman or an Italian is as much a mystery as that of the goose or the gull? but who would conclude from his ignorance of French and Italian that Frenchmen and Italians do not possess the faculty of reason?

Most people understand what beasts mean by certain movements and certain cries; but do they not also understand us very nearly, if not quite, as well. Be this as it may, none who have paid any attention to the subject doubt, for a moment, that they understand each other. What is not so generally known is that animals of entirely different species understand each other.

We believe it was Thales, the Milesian, who first observed that the horse knows there is anger in one kind of barking of a dog, and that he is accordingly afraid of it, but pays no

* Aristotle's History of Animals. Bohn's edition, p. 194.

attention to the other kind. Lactantius was of opinion that brutes could not only speak in their own way so as to be perfectly understood, but also that they could smile, and in some instances even laugh. Indeed, a greater man than he, one who had studied nature more, and who has never been excelled in any intellectual effort which he has attempted, entertained a similar opinion. In the fourth book and ninth chapter of his *History of Animals*, Aristotle instances the various calls of partridges, according to the situation of places, as evidence that animals of the same species change their language, as men do, in removing from one country to another.

All capable of judging admit that Plutarch is the most reliable of biographers. In reading his "Lives" we are everywhere impressed with his truthfulness and impartiality. Still more evident, if possible, are those qualities in his work on the *Craftiness of Animals*, which is quoted or borrowed from by all naturalists since his time. Thus he tells us that, when the people of Thrace wished to pass over a frozen river, they had a trained fox which they turned out before them, so that they might learn from him whether there was any danger that the ice would break. Reynard laid his ear on the ice to listen if, from a near or remote distance, he could hear the noise of the current; if he found by this means that the ice was sufficiently thick, he went forward; if that it was too thin, he retired.

It is Plutarch also who makes us acquainted with the feats of the famous Roman dog that used to perform at the Theatre of Marcellus. This dog, he tells us, served an actor who played a farce of several parts and personages, taking up his part at the proper time with incredible intelligence and skill. Among other things he had to seem dead for some time, on account of a certain drug he was supposed to have taken. After he had swallowed a piece of bread which passed for the drug, the same as our modern actors sometimes take wine or water for poison, he began after a while to tremble and stagger, as if the dose was beginning to take effect; at last stretching himself out stiff he suffered himself to be dragged from place to place as it was his part to do; and afterwards when he knew it to be time he began first gently to stir as if awaking out of a profound sleep and, lifting up his head, looked about him in a manner that astonished all the spectators.

It is related of elephants that when one of them is trapped

by the hunter in certain deep pits prepared for the purpose, and covered over with brush to deceive them, all the rest, with great diligence, bring stones and logs of wood to raise the bottom, so that he may get out. We are told that the keeper of an elephant in a private house in Syria robbed him at every meal of half his allowance. One day his master resolved, himself, to feed him; he poured the whole measure of barley he had ordered as his allowance into his manger; at which the elephant casting an angry look at his keeper, separated with his trunk one-half from the other, and thrust it aside, truly revealing to his master the wrong that had been done him.*

Some have gone so far in estimating the reasoning powers of the lower animals as to allege that some of them possess religious sentiments. This was the opinion of Pliny† who observes that they meet at certain fixed periods, and after several ablutions and purifications, they are seen to lift up their trunks, like arms, and fixing their eyes towards the rising sun, continue long in meditation and contemplation, at certain hours of the day, of their own accord, without instruction or precept. This indeed may not be true; we are rather disposed ourselves to question its accuracy. But it is not necessary for our purpose that it should be true; for, how many races of men are there, even at this day, who have no mode of worship, and who have scarcely any idea of religion?

There are many creatures, which so far as we can see, have no means of utterance by which they can communicate with each other. Among this class are numbered the ants; but we have many evidences that they do communicate with each other intelligently enough. Cleanthes relates a singular instance. He "saw them go," he says, "from their ant-hill, carrying the dead body of an ant towards another ant-hill, whence several other ants came out to meet them, as if to speak with them; after being awhile together, the last returned to consult, we may suppose, with their fellow-citizens, and so made two or three journeys by reason of the difficulty of capitulation. In conclusion the last comers brought the first a worm out of their burrow, as it were for the ransom of the defunct, which the first laid upon their backs and carried home, leaving the dead body to the others."‡

What the author of these accounts was, or what reliance

* Montaigne's *Essays*, Vol. ii. p. 154.

† See the first chapter of the eighth book of his *Natural History*, (L. viii. c. 1.)

‡ Plutarch on the *Craftiness of Animals*.

can be placed on his statements we can easily see from those of his works which are best known. We doubt whether a more humane or upright man than Plutarch ever existed. He had as much regard and esteem for his brother man as any philosopher, or any divine; but he did not the less interest himself in favor of the dumb brute on this account. We have evidence enough of this throughout his admirable writings; thus, for example, one almost thinks he hears one of the most pious of the Christian fathers speak while reading that part of Plutarch's *Life of the elder Cato*, in which he speaks of the conduct of the Censor to slaves and cattle.

We might fill our whole article with instances of this kind taken from ancient authors. No doubt many would question their truthfulness, but we have related nothing more remarkable of any animal of ancient times than is known to be true of animals of the present day. Thus, for example, let us return for a moment to the experience of M. Flourens, who, as superintendent for many years of the *Jardine de Plantes* at Paris, has had better opportunities for observing the habits and actions of animals than perhaps any other man of the present day. No ancient writer gives us any more remarkable account than that of M. Flourens on the habits of the *ourang-outang*. With his usual modesty he prefaces his remarks with the well known description given by Buffon of the same animal, and in which the following passage occurs: "I have seen that animal present his hand to lead back the people who had come to visit him, promenade gravely with them, as if one of the company; I have seen him sit at table, display his napkin, wipe his lips with it, use the spoon and the fork to carry food to his mouth, pour out drink for himself in a glass and drink it, when invited to do so, go take a cup and saucer, bring them to the table, put in the sugar, pour out the tea, and let it cool before he drank it, and all this without any other instigation than the words, or the signs of his master, and often without any instructions. He injured no one; he approached with caution and presented himself as if to request caresses."*

Referring to this M. Flourens adds: "Our young *ourang-outang* did all these things. He was very gentle, was singularly fond of caresses, particularly those of little children; he played with the latter and tried to imitate everything they did in his presence, &c. He knew quite well how to

* *Oeuvres de Buffon*, tome xiv., p. 35, 6^e édition de l'Imprimerie royale.

take the key of the chamber where he had been put, insert it in the lock and open the door. * * Like that of Buffon he had neither the impatience nor petulance of other apes ; his countenance was sad, his manner grave, his movements measured. I went to visit him one day in company with an illustrious old man, an acute and profound observer. A costume somewhat singular, a movement somewhat slow and feeble, and a bent form, attracted from the time of our arrival, the attention of the young animal. He complied readily with everything required from him, his eye always riveted on the object of his curiosity. As we were about to retire he gently but waggishly approached his new visitor, and took the cane which he held in his hand, and pretending to support himself on it, bending his back and slackening his pace, he walked round the yard where we were, imitating the manner and walk of my old friend. This being done he voluntarily returned the cane and we left him convinced that he too knew how to observe (*et nous le quittâmes convaincus que lui aussi savait observer*).

An account still more incredible, if possible, is given by Cuvier of his experience with the same animal. He tells us that his orang-outang took great pleasure in climbing trees and remaining for some time perched on the branches. A man pretended one day to climb the tree for the purpose of catching him ; but he immediately commenced to shake the tree with all his might in order to frighten away the intruder. The latter retired and stood still ; he returned and again pretended to climb the tree ; and the animal shook it more and more violently.

No one can question the truth of the conclusion deduced by Cuvier from these circumstances, namely, that from a particular circumstance he established for himself a general rule (*d'une circonstance particulière il se faisait un règle générale*) which is in itself a veritable reasoning process.

But it is not alone the orang-outang that has convinced modern as well as ancient observers of his ability to reason. From numerous instances we will note a few as they occur to our memory. Linnaeus tells us that the martin dwells on the outside of houses in Europe under the eaves, and that when it has built its nest, the sparrow frequently takes possession of it. The martin, unable to dislodge the intruder, convokes his companions and friends, some of whom guard the captive, whilst others bring clay, completely close up the entrance to the nest, and then fly away in triumph, leaving

the sparrow to be suffocated as the punishment due to his injustice and temerity.

Now we say that this is not merely the instinct of self preservation ; it shows that the culprit has been duly tried, condemned and executed—that it shows at least a comparison of ideas, which is a reasoning process, none can deny. As for the fidelity, affection and gratitude of the dog to his master, they are familiar to all ; and how could he entertain those feelings without reasoning ? The cat too, proves that he can reason without any reference to the instinct of self-preservation. "A lady with whom we were acquainted," says Dr. Lambert, of Edinburgh, "had a tame bird which she was in the habit of letting out of his cage about her room every day. One morning as it was picking up some crumbs of bread off the carpet, her cat, who always previously showed great kindness for the bird, seized it on a sudden and jumped with it in her mouth on the table. The lady alarmed for the fate of her favorite, on turning about observed that the door had been left open, and that a strange cat had just come into the room. After turning it out, her own cat came down from her place of safety, and dropped the bird without injuring it in the slightest manner. What wiser precaution could the lady herself have taken even had she ample time for reflection than this ?"

The same writer gives an account of another cat which, when out at night, would tap regularly at the windows if the doors and shutters were closed, knowing by experience that she was often let in at the windows by day. "And what, he adds, is still a better proof of her reasoning and sagacity, she would always tap at the bed-room windows when disappointed at the others, or when the night was far advanced." Dr. Darwin relates that a friend of his saw on the northern coast of Ireland a hundred crows at once preying upon muscles ; each crow took a muscle up into the air from twenty to forty yards high and let it fall upon the stones, and thus by breaking the shell, get possession of the animal. We have ourselves seen crows act as sentinels with the vigilance, intelligence and effect of the best trained soldiers. They relieve each other with the utmost regularity, and when the note of alarm is sounded it is as readily and fully understood, as if every crow of the flock had been a veteran soldier and had heard the warning voice of the bugle. Here instinct cannot adapt itself to circumstances, or make provision for the future ; these are efforts which, according to the

most thorough investigators and most profound observers, require the exercise of reason. But we have instances of them in a thousand forms among the smallest as well as among the largest animals—among the feeblest birds as well as among the strongest quadrupeds. It has been observed, for example, that no birds ever pair but those whose young require the nursing care of the parents; and that the extent and continuance of their parental care are always in proportion to the wants and helplessness of the young. It is well known that when the wants of the young cease the mother withdraws her fondness and leaves them to provide for themselves; but the love of the parent may be lengthened out beyond its usual time, as we see in the case of birds which contrive to feed their young if they are tied to the nest or confined in a cage, or appear by any other means to be unable to supply their own necessities. It seems almost superfluous to ask, do not the parents in these instances compare ideas? may do they not reason and in a manner perfectly logical.

We find also with what excellent judgment birds and other animals adapt their habits to the nature of the climate in which they live. In Senegal, where the heat is great, the ostrich neglects her eggs during the day, but sits on them carefully and steadily during the night. At the Cape of Good Hope where the heat is less—not sufficient to render it safe to leave the eggs uncovered, the same bird sits on them both by day and night.

We have already observed that none capable of judging would deny to the more intelligent class of animals the use of reason, were it not that so many entertain the opinion that no such concession could be made without diminishing the glory of man. Hence it is that there are those who, while they admit that animals exercise faculties which, if they do not constitute reason are at least near a kin to it, maintain that their souls are material. This theory has a much worse tendency than that which frankly admits that animals reason, because almost every argument adduced in its favor applies with equal force to the faculties of man. Pardies, an eminent disciple of the Stagirite, has exhibited this anomaly in a clear light. If you once admit, he says, that what is most admirable in the brute occurs only by means of a material soul, may you not immediately go a step farther and say, that all that takes place in the mind of man may also be

referred to a material soul.* If you once admit that the brute without any spiritual soul is capable of thinking, of acting with an object, of foreseeing the future, of revealing the past, of profiting by experience, by means of the reflection which he makes upon it ; why may you not say, in a more liberal mood, that men also are capable of exercising their functions without a spiritual soul. After all, the operations of man are no other than those you attribute to the brute ; if there is any difference it is only of more or less, and so all you can say is, that the soul of man is more perfect than that of the brute, because it remembers better, because it thinks with more reflection, and foresees with more assurance ; but finally, you cannot say that the soul of the brute is material. You will say perhaps that operations are performed by the soul of man which are not suitable to the brute, and which can proceed only from a spiritual soul, as these operations are universal intelligence, the reasoning by which we deduce one kind of knowledge from another ; the ideas which we have of the infinite and of things spiritual and which do not belong to the senses. But those who deny that the brute has any intelligence, do not deny on that account that we have thoughts and reasonings in ourselves ; therefore they (the animals) have the same right as we to prove the existence of a reasoning soul. But they may add besides that all those operations which you find so extraordinary, only differ as more or less from the operations which we attribute to the brute ; and certainly it appears that to act with an object, to profit by experience, to foresee the future (which we admit the brute to be capable of) cannot the less proceed from a spiritual principle than what belongs to man. For, in short, what is universal intelligence, if it is not what has reference to several similar things, as the portrait of a man has some relation to all faces which resemble it. What is reasoning if it is not a consciousness produced by another consciousness, as we see that a movement is often produced by another movement. Certainly, if we once admit that thought, intention and inflexion can proceed from a body animated by a material form, it will be very difficult to prove that the reasoning and the ideas of man may not proceed from a body which is also animated by a material form.†

* Pardies, *De la Connoissance des Bêtes*, num. Ivix, p. 100, et seq.

† As we have before us no English copy of Locke's works, and are obliged to re-translate a passage from his celebrated Essay, we cannot give his exact words, but his French version, from which we take the extract, is, in general, faithful to the original ; and it is particularly so in regard to the philosopher's opinion of the reasoning powers of the lower animals.

Bishop Butler, one of the most profound reasoners of modern times, has taught in his "Analogy" not only that the lower animals reason, but that they have immortal souls. Locke, a still more illustrious authority, had no doubt that animals reason. The philosopher was of opinion that the great distinction between man and the lower animals, consists in the latter being unable to form general and abstract ideas. "We can then suppose," he says, "in my opinion, that it is in this the brute differs from man. This I say is the difference in regard to which these two sorts of creatures are entirely distinct, and which places at once so vast a difference between them. For if the brutes have some ideas and are not mere machines, as some pretend, we cannot deny that they possess reason to a certain extent. *For my part it seems as evident to me that they reason, as that they have feeling*; but it is only on particular ideas they reason according as their senses present them to them. The most perfect of them are circumscribed within these narrow bounds, not having, as I believe, the faculty of extending them by any sort of abstraction."^{*}

But we need not multiply authorities. Suffice it to say that the greatest thinkers of the ancient and modern world have admitted that the lower animals reason. If there are some great men who have maintained the opposite view, have not philosophers differed similarly in regard to man himself. To deny that the dog, the elephant, or the horse reasons is not very different from denying that man has a soul, or that if he has it is one or other of several substances. Thus Empedocles maintained that the soul is simply the blood; Hesiod and Anaximander, a compound of earth and water; Zeno, the quintessence of the four elements; Asclepiades, the simple exercising of the four senses, &c., &c. Perhaps if the lower animals could speak as we do, or render themselves intelligible to us they could have as good reason to ridicule any of these theories in regard to the human soul, as some men think they have to ridicule the theory that animals reason. If, however, there are some who will still maintain that all living creatures are but machines, with the sole exception of man, let them at least admit that those rendered subservient to man's use, and which serve him as well as they are able, ought to be gently treated. Were this generally

^{*} Essay on Human Understanding. Book II., chap. xi., p. 170. M. Coste's edition.

done, we confess we should take much less pains to prove that the lower animals reason ; if by this article we shall have contributed in the slightest degree to protect the dumb animal from needless cruelty we shall ask no better reward in this instance for our labor.

ART. V.—1. *Life of the Right Honorable William Pitt.* By EARL STANHOPE. 4 vols. London, 1861-62.

2. *Biographies.* By LORD MACAULAY. Edinburgh, 1860.

THREE years have elapsed since the publication of the first two volumes of Earl Stanhope's *Life of Pitt*. In England their appearance was greeted most cordially, for that celebrated statesman and his times had long wanted a competent historian. But while the press in Great Britain gave to this valuable work the attention which it deserves and will always command, the absorbing interest felt in other matters has prevented similar notice in this country. And on the whole, it may have been as well that upon this subject the discussions in England were allowed to be uninterrupted, and to subside before a foreign opinion was given. Ever since Mr. Pitt's death, his character has been a bone of fierce contention, between Whig and Tory, in Great Britain, and the publications of the diaries and correspondence of several of his contemporaries, the brilliant biography of Lord Macaulay, and Lord Stanhope's book have revived the interest in that remarkable man. Personal animosities have mostly ceased ; Mr. Pitt and his acts are matters of history, upon which we can now pass with something like impartiality. His fame, which declined very rapidly during the thirty years preceding his death, has risen with almost equal rapidity during the last thirty years. We can now do him justice without bestowing adulation, and can avoid the bitter hostility of Lord Holland, and the absurdities of Bishop Tomline.

It would have been difficult to find a person more suitable for the task he assumed than Lord Stanhope.* His

* Philip Henry Stanhope, fifth Earl Stanhope, better known by the courtesy title which he bore during his father's lifetime of Lord Mahon. He was born in 1805, and succeeded to the peerage in 1855. Many have supposed, as the writer did until these volumes appeared, that Lord Stanhope was Mr. Pitt's grand-nephew. The third Earl Stanhope did marry Mr. Pitt's sister, who was the mother of the well-known Lady Hester Stanhope, but the present Earl is descended from his grandfather's second wife, daughter of Hon. Henry Glenville, and Mr. Pitt's first cousin.

History of England, from the Peace of Utrecht to the Peace of Versailles, has given him a very high place among living historians, and is a book which will long be the standard authority upon the events of those eventful seventy years. Lord Stanhope himself belongs to one of the noblest families in England—one that has been seated among the hereditary legislators of the kingdom since the year 1616, and has since then branched into three earldoms, and has seldom wanted one prominent member at least, at any time throughout this period; while it is neither flattery to him, nor injustice to the hero of Port Mahon, and the celebrated Earl of Chesterfield, to assert that our historian is the greatest ornament of his distinguished house.

It may perhaps be questioned whether a member of the aristocracy is the most proper person to write the history of so aristocratic a country as England. Even admitting the full force of the objection, we should not apply it to one who has such qualifications for an historian as Lord Stanhope. One of these is that which Macauley justly places so high. He has seen history; he has lived history. He was born to a place from which he could see and examine most thoroughly the working of the English system of government in court, in cabinet, and in parliament, and thus comprehend past events that would be very perplexing to others. He has sat long in both houses of parliament, and has twice held ministerial office. With most of the public men of his day he has been acquainted, and with many of the greatest, he has been intimate. He was Under Secretary to the Duke of Wellington when Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and always upon terms of familiar friendship with him; and throughout his life upon the most confidential terms with the late Sir Robert Peel, who appointed him one of his literary executors. In politics he has always been a moderate conservative, but invariably frank, straight-forward and independent in his views and conduct. Notwithstanding his admiration for and personal relations with Sir Robert Peel, he did not follow that statesman when the latter left his party, and to-day he is a supporter of Lord Derby. Yet during later years he was, we may say, the bosom friend of Lord Macauley. These traits appear in Lord Stanhope's books. A man so able, always has opinions of his own, which he states with candor and moderation, and of course they frequently conflict with those of the reader; and yet his opponents will find that his narrative gives impartially all es-

sential facts, and that his books, upon every case in dispute, contain the record so fully and so correctly, that judgment may be given upon it either way.

The life of William Pitt is a most difficult one to write. From the time that he entered office, it is substantially the History of Europe. The private life of no statesman is so meagre and uninteresting. His letters rarely refer to domestic or personal matters. He had no wife; hardly a female acquaintance; and was shy and bashful in society. His thoughts were always upon affairs of state; he cared for little or nothing else. To confine a memoir of his life within proper limits; to prevent it from being as well a life of Napoleon and of Warren Hastings, a history of the war in Italy, and of the war in Flanders, is a difficult task, requiring great judgment and great discrimination, and Lord Stanhope's book displays both. It is not a mere transcript of the Annual Register and the Parliamentary Debates; it is not a ponderous indigested mass of material, without method and without perspective, like Sir Archibald Alison's *Life of Lord Castlereagh*. We think Lord Stanhope has succeeded in giving us a most moderate, reliable and valuable biography of a very great man. We have met occasionally with statements not so correct as we should expect from so careful a writer.* These were doubtless corrected in the second edition of the book, which we have not been able to find.

The career of William Pitt is in many respects the most marvellous in history. His father's position had been higher than almost any other Englishman ever attained, and his eloquence, his indomitable will, his lofty character, and his brilliant achievements had cowed his opponents, and dazzled his countrymen to an extraordinary degree. "The son," to use Macaulay's striking language, "inherited the name which, at the time of his birth, was the most illustrious in the civilized world, and was pronounced by every Englishman with pride, and by every enemy of England with mingled admiration and terror." Born to so high an estate, his precocity is without

* Thus in volume I, page 238, in speaking of the resignation of the Duke of Richmond, Lord Stanhope says: "Notwithstanding their difference from time to time, he retained the deepest respect for Mr. Pitt. Four years after Mr. Pitt's death, we find the Duke accept the Presidency of the Pitt Club, and write as follows to Mr. Rose: 'There is nothing I pride myself on so much as having been the intimate friend of such a man.'" This letter was not written by the Duke of Richmond, who was Mr. Pitt's colleague, as he died the same year with Pitt, but by his nephew and successor, the fourth Duke, who as Colonel Lennox fought the duel with the Duke of York in 1789. This mistake, not unnatural in an ordinary writer, is a little singular in a peer of the realm.

parallel. At all stages of his youth he was a wonder. When barely twenty-one, and with a reputation for ability extending throughout the kingdom, he obtained a seat in Parliament. There his career resembles more the extravagant creation of a second-rate novelist than true biography. Carefully trained for the arena upon which he had entered, his first speech placed him in the foremost rank of the brilliant statesmen of even that brilliant age. At twenty-two he was selected with universal approval as the only one competent to encounter Fox and Burke—the greatest of debaters, and the greatest of political philosophers. At twenty-four he became prime minister, with most unusual powers, caressed alike by sovereign and people, and with colleagues under him of three times his age—not placed there by the accident of birth, but raised by his own extraordinary powers and merit over the heads of great nobles and veteran statesmen, to hold the reins of government at a most momentous crisis. History contains no other example of a position so dazzling as that. Not Bolingbroke, when at thirty-five, the whole theatre of Paris arose with one burst of acclamation, to greet him as the arbiter of Europe; not, we think, even Napoleon, when at the same age he was proclaimed Emperor of the French and King of Italy.

We have heard thoughtless people speak of it as a misfortune for a man to bear a great name—as though a father and son were in a state of rivalry. Certainly if Pitt had not inherited a name so endeared to his countrymen, he could not, while still a boy, have had an opportunity to show his fitness to command. Equally certain is it that had it not been for that parent's training he would not have been competent to maintain himself when so early raised to the place of command. But what makes his glory greater is that he was enabled to add to the fame of his own achievements that which a noble mind must prize almost equally with it—the fame reflected by the achievements of an illustrious father.

The whole history of his life, if not so brilliant, was as remarkable as the beginning. He never lost his ascendancy in Parliament; when, after holding office seventeen years he resigned it, it was of his own accord and for personal reasons. His rivals never drove him from power. He resumed it three years later; was Prime Minister, in all, longer than any predecessor or successor, and at last died in office, on the twenty-second anniversary of the day upon which he had

entered the House of Commons. He became Prime Minister at twenty-four; at forty-six, his part was finished and his worn-out body was borne to its resting-place by his father's side in Westminster Abbey.

The period of his administration was the most eventful in the history of Europe, and he was in a position too prominent, and his policy was too marked for him to escape from extreme and bitter criticism. We doubt whether another man has ever been the object of such terrible philippics and such violent lampoons. Great orators thundered against him in parliament; great satirists racked their imaginations to portray him as the most hideous of monsters, and to gloat in befitting language over his doom in the future world. Demagogues held him up to the mob as the vilest of apostates, and the most relentless of tyrants. In France, for fifty years, it was the popular belief that by an intricate and fiendish system deliberately planned and executed to destroy England's rival, he had brought about every calamity which befell that country during his life. Never has party spirit appeared in a worse form or exercised a more despotic influence than while Mr. Pitt lived, and its effects are observable even upon a man of so calm and judicial a mind as the excellent Sir Samuel Romilly.

With lord Macaulay's unrivalled biography before us it would be presumptuous to sketch Pitt's early life, and we shall only give the dates necessary to our narrative. He was born at Hayes, in Kent on the 28th of May, 1759. His father, created Earl of Chatham seven years later, was of a Cornish family. His mother, Lady Hester Grenville was the daughter of Richard Grenville, Esq. of Stowe, and the Countess Temple, peeress in her own right, and the mother of an extraordinary race of statesmen. Young William Pitt was his father's second and favorite son, was educated under that father's care instead of being sent to Eton or Harrow, and when fourteen was entered at Pembroke Hall, Cambridge. His constitution, never strong, was at this time so weak as to cause great anxiety, and was saved by Dr. Adlington's famous prescription of port wine. At Cambridge, one of the resident graduates, named Pretymann (he afterwards changed it to Tomline) was his tutor, and gave him his whole attention. "A close and lasting friendship sprang up," says Macaulay, "between the pair. The disciple was able, before he completed his twenty-eighth year, to make his preceptor Bishop of Lincoln and Dean of St.

Paul's ; and the preceptor showed his gratitude by writing a life of the pupil, which enjoys the distinction of being the worst biographical work of its size in the world."

Pitt took his degree in 1776 ; was called to the bar at Lincoln's Inn, in 1780, and joined the western circuit, which he went twice. The next winter he was returned to Parliament for the borough of Appleby, and took his seat in the House of Commons on the 22d of January, 1781.

Mr. Pitt entered parliament at the time when the ministry of Lord North was tottering to its fall, and the American revolutionary war was approaching its end. George the Third had been twenty years upon the throne, and his influence upon the government during the half century of his actual reign was so great, and his connection with Pitt was so intimate, that we feel obliged, like most writers who have taken Mr. Pitt for their theme, to say something about the king's character. His strong personal aversion to Mr. Fox has ever brought upon him the wrath of that statesman's friends and partisans ; and Lord Macaulay, never entirely emancipated from the influences of Holland House, marred the last production of his wonderful pen by stating, only with greater force than ever before, the vindictive opinions of that mansion, instead of doing history a great service, by painting, as he only could, a true character of the king.

George the Third was not a great man, but he was certainly the ablest man who had filled the English throne since William of Orange ; and in many things he compares favorably with that great prince, and occupies a high position among his sceptred contemporaries. His private character was correct, his religious feelings were strong, and his virtues were such that all historians have felt constrained to acknowledge them. Towards his wife, and towards all his children, except the Prince of Wales, his conduct was always affectionate and indulgent. His treatment of Frances Burney, and of such ministers as North, Pitt, and Addington ; his affection for his personal friends, especially the Duke of Roxburgh, whom, after that nobleman's death, he could not mention without tears, all prove that in private life he was kind, good-natured, and generous. In addition to this, the poor in the neighborhood of Windsor and Kew had reason constantly to bless him, and held his memory in reverence many years after he was shut up in his apartments at the Castle, and even after his death. It is, however, his character as a sovereign with which history has to do. We fully concur in the

opinion that the most correct private life does not atone for a bad public one.

As a ruler, his best qualities were an iron will, which made many of the greatest men of the day yield to it; a conscientious desire to do his duty; good business talents, and sound common sense. His unsound intellect often caricatured these, so that his firmness became obstinacy, his conscientiousness bigotry, and his love of business a love of intermeddling in trivial details. He had also received the worst education with which a sovereign can be cursed. His ignorance was great, and he often, in after life, deplored his want of a better early training. He ascended the throne when but twenty-two, entirely and most carefully unprepared for the high station to which he had been born, and with extravagant notions of prerogative, and the injustice of the many restrictions fixed thereon in England. These restrictions, it must be remembered too, he did not consider as the result of constitutional enactment, but as the abuses which had crept into the government during fifty years' domination of the Whig aristocracy. His mother, and her favorite, the Earl of Bute, were the disciples, in political philosophy, of Lord Bolingbroke,* and carefully instilled singular precepts into his mind; and it would have been surprising had not the plausible fallacies of that most able statesman—advocating the vigorous use of the royal prerogative as essential to the well-being of the state, and tracing all the defects and corruptions of government to its decline—had great influence upon the mind of a young heir-apparent to the crown. Even in our own day Bolingbroke's theory of government has found a strenuous and seemingly sincere advocate—not in a royal person, but in a man sprung from the people, of most subtle and powerful intellect, and who is now the leader of the Conservative party—Mr. Benjamin D'Israeli. While all followers of true political philosophy may wonder how able and reflective statesmen like Bolingbroke and D'Israeli can honestly defend such pernicious doctrines, no one can be surprised that they should find a warm response in the mind of George the Third, or blame him very much for attempting to put them in practice. And in defiance of a powerful aristocracy, of the opposition of eminent, experienced, and strong willed ministers, he did succeed in carrying them out through the greater part of his reign. The

* Two of George's preceptors were recommended by Bolingbroke, and a third was suspected of Jacobitism.

means which he used were often open to severe criticism, but posterity will not even look upon these in the same spirit with Burke and Fox. In the long contest for prerogative his Majesty had to contend with the most powerful patrician houses, with both houses of legislature acting upon the traditions of seventy years, and with such men as Chatham, George Grenville, Camden, Shelburne, North, Burke, Fox, Pitt, Thurlow, Dundas, Lord Grenville, Eldon, Canning, and Castlereagh, and he triumphed and domineered over them all. The monarch who did this was no ordinary man.

The American war has long been considered as a great stain upon George the Third's character, but we cannot regard it in so strong a light, when we consider the king's position, and education, and the opinions of those who surrounded him. No man is to be blamed for not being in advance of his age and nation; and it is beyond dispute that the great majority of the King's subjects fully supported him in the measures which he had adopted towards the colonies. It is strange that Macaulay, and the other writers who are so harsh upon the king, speak highly of the personal characters of the ministers who advised him, while condemning their policy; of the Duke of Bedford, of George Grenville, of Lord North. Why should not the same indulgence shown them be also shown their master? The position of George the Third is well defined by a recent Whig writer, Mr. Massey, in his valuable "History of England." After stating what now few will deny, that the "abstract right of any member of a sovereign state to separate itself and declare its independence, is a doctrine which no theoretical writer has ever broached, and which no practical statesman could for a moment recognize;" he goes on to say:

"George the Third was at the commencement of the American war the most powerful monarch that had reigned in this country since Elizabeth; his parliament was obsequious, his people were loyal: but if, instead of defending the integrity of the empire he had proposed to surrender his American colonies and to recognize them as independent United States, his throne had hardly withstood the shock of public indignation. The sympathy with the American cause, which Chatham and other members of the Whig party so powerfully expressed, found little response with the nation."^{*}

Earl Russell too absolves the King from any great crime in this respect. In the "Memorial and correspondence of Charles James Fox," he says:

^{*} Massey, III. 166.

"The King held that the acknowledgment of the independence of America would place this country in a state of inferiority, and be tantamount to its ruin as a great and powerful state. Lord Chatham had held an opinion very similar to this. Lord Shelborne, following his leader, said in the House of Lords that when America became independent the sun of England would set. The sovereign was only blamable for the obstinacy with which he clung to an opinion entertained by some of the most sagacious and eminent of his subjects."

So too with regard to the removal of religious disabilities, George the Third only erred with the great body of the nation. No one questions that among the opponents of the claims of the Roman Catholics were some of the best, some of the most honest people in Great Britain. In 1829 it required all the power and stubborn will of the Duke of Wellington, all the eloquence of the greatest orators of the day, and all the terrors of a civil war to carry the bill removing the Roman Catholic disabilities. It was strenuously opposed by the majority of the Established Church, forming half the population of England, by the whole Wesleyan body, which included half of the Dissenters, by a great majority of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, and of the Irish Protestants. So great was the opposition, that the Ministry were obliged to give up one part of the measure which all real statesmen had thought essential to its success, the endowment of the Roman Catholic clergy. No reasonable man can charge George with criminal obstinacy in resisting a measure which the majority of his subjects viewed in the same light with himself.

The king's mind was narrow, his temper domineering, his prejudices strong, and his position weak. It was only by forming a party of his own, the king's friends, that he could carry out his policy. His course in this respect was unconstitutional, and often faithless. Duplicity was indeed his gravest fault. It often took that form of cunning so common in people of unsound minds, and it is difficult to decide how far it was owing to moral obliquity or to that strange malady which more or less clouded his intellect throughout his entire life, until finally it settled into the darkness of the darkest night.

George the Third's aversion to Mr. Fox was in part aggravated by this, and in any light, must properly be regarded as a misfortune rather than as a fault. The admirers of that very great man must not forget that his private life was more profligate than that of any public man of his day; and it is the greatest compliment to his eminence in intellec-

tual qualities, and to the kindness of his heart, that he could have risen so high, and been loved so widely as he has, notwithstanding his notorious faults. But, although he hated his vices, that which weighed the heaviest in King George's mind against Fox, was his settled conviction that it was he who had corrupted the Prince of Wales, and estranged him from his father. It is now known that this charge was unjust, but it must be admitted that there was sufficient evidence then to convince a less narrow mind, and if the charge had been true, it would have excused the king's feelings. Lord Brougham, Sir Samuel Romilly, and Lord Holland have abused the King so violently for what they term his implacable hatred of his son, that one would imagine the latter to have been one of the most upright of human beings, instead of the most worthless profligate that ever disgraced a royal family—a Charles the Second, without Charles's kindness, liberality, and exquisite urbanity—a Caesar Borgia, without Borgia's ability and courage. With Fox, the Prince was upon the most intimate terms, and during the coalition struggle openly and indecently took part against his father. Thus, at a drawing-room, he said, aloud, "that his father had not yet agreed to the plan of the coalition, but, by G—, he should be made to agree to it;" and when it was known that his Majesty was endeavoring to retain Lord Thurlow's services, said, at table, at the Duke of Cumberland's, "that he hoped that d——d fellow, the Chancellor, would be turned out."* That it was not Mr. Fox's political opinions solely that caused the king's dislike is evident from his showing no such implacability towards persons who had gone beyond Fox in opposition to the Court. Burke had, in 1780, been for fifteen years engaged in denouncing the king's policy and measures, and throughout the American war had far exceeded Fox in the vehemence of his language. Yet in that year, when it was suggested by Lord North that Mr. Burke should be invited to join the ministry, the King wrote that "Mr. Burke would be a real acquisition."† We have long been convinced that, as yet, history has not done George the Third justice, and has treated him more harshly than it has many worse men.

In 1782, Lord North resigned, and a new administration was formed, with the Marquis of Rockingham, a magnificent cipher, at its head, according to the favorite Whig

* Fox Memorials, I., 46, 47, note. It must be admitted that his Royal Highness' description of Thurlow was correct.

† Fox Memorials, I., 253.

theory. Mr. Pitt would take no subordinate position, and as he was not connected with the Great Revolution families, he of course could not be admitted into the Cabinet. As Lord Brougham justly remarks, "Lord John Cavendish, of an illustrious Whig house by birth, but himself one of the most obscure of mankind, must needs be made Chancellor of the Exchequer. Mr. Pitt was only the son of Lord Chatham, and a man of vast talents, as well as spotless reputation, and he was thus not permitted, without a sacrifice of personal honor, to be the ally of Mr. Fox in serving the common country." Even Mr. Burke was not admitted to the cabinet. We shall see, however, that Pitt was guilty of the same exclusiveness.

The first thing which the new ministry did was to begin negotiations for peace, and immediately thereon a misunderstanding arose between the Earl of Shelburne and Mr. Fox, the two Secretaries of State, which the premier could not settle. Upon Lord Rockingham's death, in June, 1782, the king selected Lord Shelburne as his successor, and the latter so informed his colleagues. But Mr. Fox and his friends, ignoring this information, carried a vote in the cabinet recommending for Lord Rockingham's place another magnificent cipher, the Duke of Portland, who, in so far as he differed from Lord Rockingham, differed for the worse. But the king was firm, and they threw up office.

All impartial writers now unite in condemning Mr. Fox's conduct upon this occasion. He himself gives no tangible reason for it. Mr. Massey well remarks, that no faction had ever before, or has since, attempted to dictate to the sovereign who should be prime minister. Still stronger was the king's position when we compare the personal merits of the rival candidates. Shelburne was one of the most eminent statesmen England has produced, with intellectual gifts of a high order, brought up at the feet of Lord Chatham, and possessing more than any other man the secrets and traditions of that statesman's policy. He had been several times in office; he had withstood the blandishments of the court; his opinions were Whigish to the verge of republicanism, and his character high and independent. The claims of the Duke of Portland, were high birth, a great estate, an alliance with the Cavendishes, and mental qualities of the most meagre kind.

Had Mr. Fox, upon Lord Rockingham's death, taken the ground that he could no longer hold a subordinate position with advantage to the crown, as it is said Sir Robert Peel

once did, he would have occupied a strong position. He was the ablest man in the ministry; as the leader of the House of Commons, he had been the second man in it, and his claims were great, but in advocating, and a few months later, in forcing upon the king the appointment of the Duke of Portland, he took a course unconstitutional in itself, and one which has never been successful in England without proving very deleterious to the public interests. It is not necessary that the prime minister should be first lord of the treasury. That great officer may be reduced to a finance clerk if occasion requires, and the prime minister hold any other office, if he be only the avowed and responsible head of the administration. But it is a pernicious policy which makes a subordinate more powerful than his nominal chief; it separates what ought never to be separated, power and responsibility. It was undoubtedly for this reason that the Duke of Wellington was of opinion that the prime minister should always be a member of the House of Commons. The minister who has to satisfy and persuade the assembly, on whose vote the fate of the government depends, must necessarily exercise an influence with his colleagues and is justified in using language at the council board hardly compatible with the second place. The last time the Fox policy was tried in England was in Lord Aberdeen's ministry, and a cabinet which in ability and experience threw "all the talents" into the shade, brought upon the country the calamities of war, and of an irresolutely and inefficiently conducted war—all owing to the course of the well-meaning but most feeble premier. We think Lord Brougham is right in saying that Mr. Fox constantly modified his "principles according to his own situation and circumstances as a party chief; making the ambition of the man and the interest of his followers too uniformly the governing rule. The charge is a grave one, but unhappily the facts fully bear it out." Even in this brief article too many evidences will appear of this.

Deserted by Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke, it was necessary for Lord Shelburne to select some one competent to meet the great orators and statesmen seated on the opposition benches. He applied to Pitt, who became Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The ministry was weak in parliament, but seems to have been otherwise successful. The preliminaries of a treaty of peace were signed early in 1783, as favorable to Great Britain as any Ministry could have obtained. In the mean-

time the partisans of Fox sought, as far as possible, to sow dissensions in the cabinet. It was clear that some union was necessary. At that time neither Lord North nor Lord Shelburne nor Mr. Fox could carry on the government very long alone. Pitt and many of Fox's friends desired a coalition between him and Shelburne, but Fox insisted on the Duke of Portland being premier, to which the ministry justly refused to listen. The fatal coalition with Lord North was Fox's only remaining card.

We shall pass this by with few comments. Lord Macaulay and Lord Stanhope both censure it, and in their respective narratives differ in no essential particular. Lord Brougham, too, condemns it, and Earl Russell, a disciple of Fox, a statesman of great political learning and parliamentary experience, substantially agrees with them. Even Lord Holland, with the use of all his malignant feelings towards the King and Pitt, found it difficult to defend it.* Mr. Fox did not differ in any essential particular from Lord Shelburne and Mr. Pitt. All three were Whigs, all three had desired and advocated peace. Lord North was a Tory, and had been the minister who began and carried on the American war, and had so steadily resisted the peace for which the others had clamored. Against him personally nothing can be said. He was a most able man, of amiable disposition and unblemished character, and an eminent debater. It is now well known, doubtless Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke knew, that he had at heart been opposed to his own measures. But whether he approved or disapproved of the king's policy, he had submitted to it, had warmly defended it, and had given it the whole of the great influence that is always wielded by a high-minded, disinterested, and able minister. In return for his complaisance he had been loaded with the most unusual honors by the King and the Tory party, and while still a young man and a commoner had become a Knight of the Garter, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Chancellor of the University of Oxford, and with difficulty had avoided other marks of favor which his sovereign sought to lavish upon him. To assert that he was not responsible for the policy with which he was so closely connected, was to condemn the great revolution doctrine of ministerial responsibility, and ill became a

* It is amusing, in reading the Memorials of Fox, which were prepared by Lord Holland and edited by Lord Russell, to see how often the latter is obliged to add, after Lord Holland's arguments: "I cannot assent to this," "I cannot concur in this," "I must again disagree from the opinion of Lord Holland."

Whig statesman. Against Lord North Fox had brought to bear all the force of his great oratorical powers, and had attacked him personally with a violence scarcely parliamentary, and which even this best-natured of ministers had been goaded into resenting. With him Mr. Fox now united, against a member of his own party, and the trial of strength was a vote of censure upon the peace. The vote was carried, and Lord Shelburne resigned. The king made every effort to avoid accepting the coalitionists as ministers; he frequently offered the treasury to Pitt, whose spirit and ability had been displayed to the greatest advantage in the contests with Fox and North, and had raised him to the highest pitch of popularity, but he, sagacious as he was able, saw that his time would come, but was not yet. Lord Thurlow and Mr. Dundas were the men who gave the bold advice to place a boy of twenty-three at the head of the ministry.

After several weeks' endeavor to avoid this necessity, the king gave way, and the coalition Ministry entered office in April, 1783. The Duke of Portland was First Lord of the Treasury, and Lord North and Mr. Fox Secretaries of State, but Mr. Fox was the real Prime Minister. He was, however, in a full tide of errors that banished him from office for twenty-two years. At every turn he was contradicting and falsifying the maxims of his party and his former life, and alienating the entire nation from him.

The celebrated India Bill, which deprived the East India Company of their territory, and transferred the whole government to a Board named by Mr. Fox, was introduced into parliament early in its next session in the autumn, and at once excited a fierce contest. Pitt attacked it as a violation of chartered rights, and as glaringly unconstitutional. The cry against it out of doors was greater still, but it passed rapidly through the lower House, and Fox seemed madly indifferent to the voice of the people so long as he was sure of the approbation of parliament. That voice became louder and louder until it included all parties except Lord North's retainers, and the Revolution families; and tories and republicans, high churchmen and dissenters, men like Jenkinson, who had for twenty years been the abject tools of the court, and men like John Wilkes, who during the same time had carried on an incessant war with the court, united in denouncing the coalition and its leading measure. The great body of the people, ever inclining to the weaker side in such a contest, and

skooped at the seeming violation of all rules of political morality displayed by Fox for the sake of power, turned towards "the marvellous boy," as the only hope of the king and country at this grave crisis. When, in December, 1783, the House of Lords rejected the bill, and the king summarily dismissed his ministers, and appointed Pitt first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer, with full powers to form an administration, he had the cordial well-wishes of his countrymen, and we doubt not that the prayers at innumerable firesides, and of good people of different religious creeds, were offered up that the blessing of Heaven might rest upon the youthful statesman.

The India Bill was defeated in the House of Lords by means of the celebrated commission given by the king to Earl Temple, Mr. Pitt's cousin, to declare that his Majesty would regard as his personal enemies all those who should vote for it, and was the result of the joint advice of Lord Temple and Lord Thurlow. The influence of such information in the House of Lords would always be great, for the Peers do not like to be at variance with their sovereign; but we imagine the clamor out of doors must also have effected in no small degree their judgment. It is impossible that a deliberative assembly of three hundred gentlemen—no matter how it may be constituted—should not feel very strongly the force of popular opinion; and at the time the Peers came to a conclusion more in conformity with the desires of the people than that of their own representatives.

The coalition in forcing themselves upon the king, and in their endeavor to transfer the entire government of fifty millions of people to a board irresponsible to the crown, and the king in the means he used to reject the bill, were alike acting unconstitutionally. The boundary at which the royal authority shall cease, and the opinion of the royal advisers shall govern, is not clearly traced in England, and in the nature of things cannot be. There has probably never been a prime minister in England, from Lord Burleigh to Lord Palmerston, who has not at times been forced to yield his own opinions to the opinions and prejudices of the sovereign. How often and to what extent depends on the respective characters of sovereign and minister, and has varied greatly at different times. Was it the duty of George the Third to allow a measure to become law, which he in common with the great majority of his subjects, disliked? If not, then how should it be defeated? Even Lord Thurlow could not advise

the king to veto the bill after it had been sanctioned by parliament. The question is a difficult one. We must protest, however, against the charge of some that George the Third treated his ministers unfairly. They had notoriously forced themselves upon him ; they had outraged his pride and feelings, and it would seem that they intended to reduce him to the rank of a Doge of Venice. Thus in that interview in which the coalition was planned, Lord North remarked to Mr. Fox, that "the King ought to be treated with all sort of respect and attention, but the appearance of power is all that a king of this country ought to have."*

But whatever we may think of the policy of Mr. Fox or of the conduct of the king, Pitt was responsible for neither. He denounced with all the force of his oratory the one ; he stood haughtily aloof from the other. He took office, when vacant by no intrigues of his, at the desire of his sovereign and the approbation of the people. Seldom has a minister had to overcome greater difficulties. The announcement of his appointment was received in the House of Commons with shouts of laughter. His cousin Temple, who was to be one of the secretaries of state, and leader of the House of Lords, threw up office the day after he had been appointed and set, off in high dudgeon for Stowe, because Pitt would not create him Duke of Buckingham. His father's intimate friend, Lord Camden, declined to have anything to do with so desperate an undertaking. Under these difficulties, the nerve displayed by the young minister was astonishing. He faced the attacks and taunts of the opposition in the commons without flinching, with the most admirable self command, and with the judgment of a veteran politician.

The impolicy of Mr. Fox's conduct, however, made his task less difficult. Lord Russell, with the discernment of long experience in constitutional government, has clearly pointed out the policy open to the coalition. It was that, when first the rumors of Lord Temple's instructions spread abroad, the ministers should have waited upon the king, demanded a public retraction, and if it were not given, they ought then to have resigned their offices, when out of office they should have given every facility for obtaining the sense of the constituent body upon their policy. We do not agree with Lord Russell in his conclusion, that they would have obtained an indorsement of that policy, but their defeat would have

*Fox Memorials, I., 38.

been far less disastrous, they would in all probability have regained office at the next ministerial crisis, and at all events they would have preserved their consistency. Very different was their conduct. They took no notice of the statements of Lord Temple until they had lost their places. Then Mr. Fox advanced the extraordinary doctrine that the crown had no power to dissolve parliament while in session. Every parliamentary weapon was used to drive the ministry from power, except those which would have done it at once. They passed resolutions and voted addresses which but aggravated the king's feelings and inflamed the people; while they allowed the supplies to be voted and the mutiny bill to pass, when no one doubted the right of the commons to stop either, and when the result of stopping either must have been victory. After two months' struggle their majority was reduced to one; parliament was dissolved, and the coalition almost annihilated at the elections. After twenty-five years' struggle, George the Third triumphed over the Whig aristocracy and destroyed forever the predominance of the revolution families. Mr. Pitt was established in almost unprecedented power.

Through the long period of that power, we cannot trace him. We have endeavored to show that he attained it without sacrificing his self-respect, or violating the theories of government established in England. Never had a man a nobler path before him, nor with his authority and prestige had greater opportunities of earning a glorious immortality. It cannot be said, however, that his life fully satisfied in solid, permanent result the promise of its beginning. In some respects he was eminently successful; in others he ignominiously failed. Our own views are not exactly those of Lord Stanhope, nor those of Macaulay, and we shall therefore endeavor as concisely as possible to state them.

His intellect was remarkably powerful and comprehensive and his foresight, his self-reliance, and his courage, equally great. His education too had been admirably planned and directed under his father's supervision. Indeed he had been especially under his father's care, his mind had been carefully moulded by his father's hand, and imbued with his father's views. But while trained by that parent, he resembled his mother's family more than he did his father: the contrast indeed between the two was very great. Both possessed the same courage and resolution, and both the same proud spirit, but the fierce, passionate haughtiness of Chatham was very

different from the cold arrogance of his son. Both possessed great self-reliance—the result of a knowledge and just appreciation of their power of mind; for a man of great intellectual endowments must be as fully aware of their presence as a beautiful woman is of her beauty. There was no vulgar conceit in Chatham's remark—"I feel that I can save my country, and that no one else can;" or in Pitt's declaration, when not twenty-two, that he could accept no office without a seat in the cabinet. Chatham was a man of great imagination, great genius and great energy; Pitt possessed very little imagination, and hardly any genius in its very highest sense; and was industrious rather than energetic. Chatham's education had been defective, his knowledge was superficial; he hated all detail, and above all, disliked mathematics in literature and finance in politics; his son's education had been most careful: his knowledge was most thorough; he never despised, but seems to have liked the driest details; his love of mathematics amounted to a passion, and finance was always his favorite department. Sir Egerton Brydges thought that Lord Chatham would have made a poet, had he not been a statesman; the specimens of his youthful verse which have been preserved are not very promising, but still there was a great deal that was poetical in his character. The younger Pitt was as prosaic as a man of his breadth of mind can be; no one can imagine his delighting in the "*Fairie Queene*." From one defect too, which his father had, he was free: Lord Chatham's character was theatrical to a degree that greatly lowers our esteem for it—his virtues were paraded with pharisaical ostentation. Notwithstanding the bantering of the "*Rolliad*," it is equally true that his son possessed great simplicity of character, and was not at all inclined to cant, a fault ludicrously conspicuous in Lord Eldon, and too evident even in the late Sir Robert Peel.

With such a difference in all their qualities and tastes it is not surprising that their careers should present a like contrast. As Ministers they did not succeed in the same departments; they did not fail in the same departments. Chatham's success was as a war minister; his genius enabled him to conduct the foreign relations of the enterprise without knowing international law, and to lead the House of Commons without knowing parliamentary law. About finance he knew and cared little or nothing. His success in time of peace is very questionable. We do not remember that he paid the least attention to legislation. And yet, with all his defects, he was un-

doubtedly one of the greatest men of modern times. Pitt had been a laborious student in political economy, and was deeply versed in the mysteries of Adam Smith. His legislative plans show that had he paid close attention to it, he would never have been excelled in legislation, but he has frequently, we think, been surpassed as an administrator in time of peace, and notwithstanding Lord Stanhope's earnest vindication, we think he signally failed as a war minister. Like his father, Pitt showed in private life a warm and affectionate disposition. He did not, like Fox, unite a great party to him by the bonds of friendship and love, or display the kindness of his heart at all times. In public he was reserved and haughty, and entirely concealed his genial temper under his cold unbending exterior. His shyness may have exaggerated in general society the effect of his forbidding manners. His letters to his mother, although a little formal, show no want of filial affection.

He was also disinterested; he might easily have accumulated in his person a great number of lucrative sinecures which would have brought him a splendid income; he repeatedly refused the entreaties of his indulgent master to allow the garter to be conferred upon him. No one, as Macaulay says, ever dared to whisper that he touched unlawful gains. One post was forced upon him by the king in a letter such as has seldom been written by a sovereign to a subject: "I take the first opportunity of acquainting Mr Pitt," wrote George, on the death of Lord North, "that the warden ship of the Cinque Ports is an office for which I will not receive any recommendations, having positively resolved to confer it on him as a mark of that regard which his eminent services have deserved from me. I am so bent on this that I shall be seriously offended at any attempt to decline."

But it is a defect in this disinterestedness that he was so careless of his private affairs, and became so entangled by debt. As first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer, he received £7,000 a year, with a house in town; as warden of the Cinque Ports, nearly £4,000 a year more, with the noble marine residence of Walmer Castle; and yet with no wife, children, or poor relations, with the most simple and abstemious habits, he allowed himself to be plundered by every one, and never paid the least attention to his steward's accounts. Thus we find him obliged to forego a marriage with a young lady whom he deeply loved—to decline marriage, with two houses and £11,000 a year!—to call frequent-

ly upon his friends for pecuniary assistance, and to leave debts to the amount of forty thousand pounds to be discharged by his country. Still such carelessness is not an infrequent associate of great talents, and we must deplore rather than censure it.

It was his misfortune that he entered public life so early as he did. He never saw much of his fellow-men outside of official circles, and was unable to examine into their condition and wants in all grades of society; he travelled less than almost any other statesman. He never had time for deep reflection upon things passing before him. Before he entered parliament, he must have found barely sufficient time to digest what he read. We think also it was his misfortune, that he possessed no real home, where his natural warmth of heart might be increased, and where he might have ties that in part would wean him from the absorbing matters of State, and might unbend and relieve his mind when weary from the cares of office; and thus prevent these very cares from becoming, as they did, necessary to his existence. Had his entrance into Parliament been deferred ten years—had his knowledge been increased by travel and meditation—had a wife and home shared his heart with his country, and the voices of children broken the solitude of his library, his career, if a less wonderful, would have been a far happier and more useful one. We know no sadder picture than that tall, thin figure and “brow of pride,” passing from his office to his solitary meal, and from thence to the Commons, and back again to his lonely house and restless couch, repelling by his freezing manner all confidence and sympathy; than that cheerless and deserted room at Putney—where, in the prime of manhood, and almost without friends, the broken-hearted statesman lay dying.

As a parliamentary tactician, it is allowed with universal consent that he has never been equalled. His self-control, his readiness, his wonderful command of language, his clear, sonorous voice, his terrible power of invective, have frequently been dilated upon. His rhetorical and dialectic powers were, naturally, very great, and his father's training had brought them to the most perfect state of efficiency. His knowledge of the House of Commons, its structure, its rules, its prejudices, its weaknesses, was far beyond that of any of his rivals. But, above all, there is a tone of moderation in his speeches, the influence of a responsible position and of conservative views which contrasts most favorably

with the extravagance and ultraism that often surrounded him. All who read intelligently the debates on the trial of Warren Hastings, on the regency, on the French Revolution, or on the Canada Bill, must be convinced that among that brilliant concourse of orators, Pitt was, by far, the best fitted to lead the House of Commons. This was in him, as in England it always will be in a member of that house, his greatest claim to office.

His contemptuous neglect of literature and art is a grievous blemish upon the administration of a man of great scholarly attainments, with all necessary power and resources at hand, and who was the high steward and burgess of a great university. Literature never received the slightest recognition from him; no public building worthy of a wealthy nation commemorates his long domination. It was in his power to obtain, for the paltry sum of £200,000, the magnificent collection of paintings in the Pitti palace, at Florence, with which he could have founded a gallery of art worthy of Great Britain, and which in coming time would have nobly perpetuated his greatness and his name. But he allowed to pass this single opportunity of replacing, after the lapse of one hundred and fifty years, that collection which fanatical vandalism scattered to the four winds of heaven.

Philosophers and poets might starve, the fine arts might languish, and buildings and monuments might crumble before the minister who was the most lavish of subsidizers, and who scattered sinecures with a liberal hand among worthless politicians, would give a guinea to their relief or restoration. In all this he resembled Walpole, without having Walpole's excuses.

He was a conscientious and devoted member of the Established Church; her ritual, her liturgy, the general moderation of her doctrines, her historical associations with the past—including, as she did, within her broad communion, the majority of the great and good Englishmen of eight generations, all had a powerful influence on such a mind as his. Yet his treatment of the Church was as bad as it well could be. He did not attempt to overthrow her supremacy, or to rob her of her endowments; but he injured her so far as he could by bad appointments and utter neglect. He seems to have considered ecclesiastical offices in a light but little different from that in which he regarded peerages and garters, lord-lieutenancies of counties and tellerships of

the Exchequer. One of his earlier appointments was to force upon the King that of his tutor Tomline—who through life exercised a bad influence over him—to an Episcopal see and a deanery, where the tutor proved himself one of the worst examples of one of the worst ages of English Bishops. Towards the end of his life, Mr. Pitt quarrelled with the King, because the latter would not elevate this bad-tempered mathematician to the Archiepiscopal throne of Canterbury, instead of the gentle Manners Sutton. What Tomline was, may be shown by one circumstance, that Lord Stanhope, with his accustomed candor, records, although he keeps the Bishop in the rear as far as he honestly can. In 1801, several gentlemen raised twelve thousand pounds which they presented to Mr. Pitt. After his death, Tomline, who was one of the subscribers, urged that they should ask Parliament to repay it, and seems to have pressed his desire until Mr. Wilberforce cried out against it.* Mr. Pitt had a real affection for his old friend, and therefore promoted him without seeming to regard his unfitness for any preferment above a cathedral sinecure. Unhappily he was, in this treatment of the Church, no worse than his contemporaries.

All biographers and historians, and with them Macaulay and Stanhope have, in our opinion, greatly overrated Mr. Pitt's power, in the closet, in the Cabinet, in the House of Commons. He doubtless had unusual power for an English Premier, but he was at most only a Premier—not a dictator, not a Mayor of the palace; not even sole Minister. He had to deal with a strong-willed, power-loving monarch, with narrow-minded, timid and selfish, and sometimes with unprincipled and treacherous colleagues, and with a badly formed and treasonable legislature. He led the Tory party, but we do not think any candid man can say that in every other respect he was a Whig—a Whig by birth, by education, and from principle. It was also his misfortune that he entered office in the way he did. He gained it after a vigorous exercise of a doubtful prerogative, by the advice and exertion of unscrupulous politicians, and as the only means by which they could avoid the direful necessity of giving office to Fox. The consequences were that Mr. Pitt was much under the control of the King, that for eight years he could not free himself from the clutches of Lord Thurlow, and that through life he was too much connected with—sometimes

*Stanhope, IV, 394.

the tool of—King's friends and Court favorites. His supporters in Parliament did not consider themselves bound to support him invariably, and in the first session after the election of 1784 he suffered a mortifying defeat on the Westminster scrutiny.

There is one thing in which he always seemed to be unfortunate, and that was in the choice of his colleagues. In the first cabinet which he formed, he—an earl's son—was the only commoner. Dundas, with all his ability and experience, did not, we believe, obtain a seat there until 1790. The Earl of Mornington was Mr. Pitt's personal friend, but a year his junior, and a man of great abilities and accomplishments; yet he only had a seat at the treasury board, when one might have expected him to receive a secretary's seals, or to be placed over the admiralty. Nor did Mr. Pitt give this excellent nobleman and admirable administrator any important office until he made him, some years later, Governor-General of India. Mr. Wyndham Grenville was not treated so badly, and eventually obtained all, and more than all, he was entitled to, and he afterwards, with true Grenville gratitude, deserted his cousin in the hour of need, and set himself up as his competitor. But the most extraordinary example of all was Mr. Canning. That great man was Mr. Pitt's favorite pupil, was introduced into parliament by him, and resembled his instructor in his genius, his accomplishments, and splendid parliamentary talents, and was enthusiastically devoted to him. He was treated most charily to the sweets of office. Even in 1804, when Mr. Pitt had to form a ministry without Fox and the Grenvilles, and when Canning was the only commoner above third-rate debaters who clung to him, no place could be found for him in the cabinet which contained Castlereagh and Hawkesbury, and such others as the second Earl Camden and the Duke of Montrose.* What makes Mr. Canning's treatment more singular is, that a year after Pitt's death, on the formation of a Tory administration, he was made Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Had Mr. Pitt given him that office in 1804, Mr. Canning might have succeeded him as the leader of the party, and England have been spared a quarter of a century of mediocrity.

* We ought to state that just before his last sickness Mr. Pitt intended to summon Canning to the Cabinet. Canning's modest and generous letter, declaring that he would prefer not to be in the cabinet, does not, we think, excuse Pitt, however much it may do honor to his friend's noble disinterestedness.

We cannot satisfactorily account for all this by ascribing it to the opposition of the king, or the oligarchical feelings of a portion of the party. We are constrained, much against our will, to ascribe it to an unworthy jealousy in Mr. Pitt of talent, particularly in the House of Commons. He liked Dundas and Canning well enough as under secretaries, paymasters, and vice-treasurers, but the Dukes of Leeds and Portland, Lords Gower, Sydney, Westmoreland, Camden, Mulgrave, and Hawkesbury, were the material out of which he delighted to manufacture cabinet ministers. If he got above them, he was sure to stop with such men as Lords Cornwallis and Castlereagh. It is to the incompetency of such colleagues that his failures and misfortunes are in a large degree to be attributed.

These were chiefly in administration. His faults here were more apparent in war than in peace, but they can be traced in both. The American war had shown that the organization of the army and navy required a radical change. This was not so important as long as England's principal opponent was the old court of Versailles, where every corruption of the horse guards and admiralty rioted in a caricatured form; but Mr. Pitt must have been aware that the whole military system was bad, and it became a constant cause of defeat when he had to contend against the frantic energy of the Jacobins, and the genius of Napoleon with an army renovated by a revolution, and officered by men promoted for merit. Yet during nine years of peace, not a thing was done to remodel the army or navy, or to reform abuses. In the internal administration very little more was accomplished.

And yet these nine years form the golden portion of George the Third's reign, and were eminently successful. The finances were restored, trade was relieved of many absurd shackles, a liberal treaty of commerce was made with France, enlightened principles of political economy guided the treasury, and the premier's vigor was felt in every department of government. Upon his financial measures we are not competent to pass judgment, but independently of the sinking fund, they appear to have been sound, and were generally successful. The honor of England was firmly upheld abroad, and with the restoration of national prosperity ceased almost entirely the national discontent. England owes it to Mr. Pitt that she was thus prepared to pass in comparative safety through the great impending convulsions upon the

continent. How differently might have been the result if these had commenced in 1779 instead of 1789? Truly did Burke say that, "Had the portentous comet of the rights of man (which from its horrid hair shakes pestilence and war, and with fear of change perplexes monarchs); had that comet crossed upon us in that interval state of England, nothing human could have prevented our being irresistibly hurried, out of the highway of heaven, into all the vices, crimes, horrors and miseries of the French Revolution. Happily France was not then jacobinized."

In legislation Mr. Pitt advocated and favored much more than he accomplished. His first important measure was his India Bill. It was bad enough, but quite as good as it was possible for him to carry, and continued substantially in force until 1858, when a dreadful crisis silenced the absurdity of pressing the claims of corporate privileges against the welfare of an innumerable people. Now that the double government is abolished, the *Edinburgh Review* wonders that it stood so long, although twice whig ministries affirmed this unsound and monstrous principle. But after the loud though unreasonable cry about the violation of chartered rights, in which he had joined, against Mr. Fox's bill, it is an honor to Mr. Pitt that he succeeded in limiting the Company's powers so much as he really did. In our opinion Mr. Fox was right in his effort to deprive the East India Company of all its political power, but it was an insuperable objection to his plan that it proposed to transfer this power to an anomalous board, irresponsible to the crown and unknown to the Constitution.

Pitt's supporters, and often his colleagues too, voted against some of his measures. They defeated his Reform Bill, they substantially rejected his plans, for free trade with Ireland, and over and over again, voted against the abolition of the slave trade. It was not a reforming age, the pressure from the outside was feeble, parties interested in the preservation of abuses were strong and active, and the king was easily alarmed. Believing that the minister was sincere in his declarations, how often he must have been cruelly mortified by these defeats? His legislative acts were not numerous. He carried his India Bill, he relieved Roman Catholics from the penal laws, and admitted them to some of the learned professions; and repealed many restrictions on trade. He also advocated parliamentary reform, the abolition of the slave trade and slavery, the removal of all civil disabilities from the Roman Catholics, and the endowment of their clergy in Ire-

laud. From his papers it appears too, that he saw the necessity of repealing the Test and Corporation Acts, and of Irish church reform, including the commutation of tithes. These alone prove his broad and comprehensive statesmanship, and had he carried them, he would have left a name unequalled in English history. But it was not in his power to do so. Upon only one question do we charge him with faint heartedness. Had he been firm, he might have abolished the slave trade, and not left this noble work to his successor.

One most important cause of Pitt's failures in administration and legislation, is the fact so forcibly stated by Macaulay, that he only gave the leavings of his mind to these. At the beginning of his official career, he was most unequally matched against a wonderful combination of parliamentary talent; and all his mental resources were required to maintain the contest. Thus it continued, until his mind was warped by these fierce battles, and he had little taste for anything else. So long as he could convince the House of Commons, he was satisfied.

The Regency contest in 1788 and 1789 is detailed in a most interesting manner by Lord Stanhope. The king, so early as George Grenville's administration, had shown signs of insanity, and this terrible calamity never entirely left him. But in the autumn of 1788, it appeared in its worse form, and was aggravated by cruel treatment. When Dr. Willis was called in, he found that the poor man was kept in a constant irritation by petty restrictions—he was not allowed a razor, or even the use of a knife and fork. Dr. Willis dispensed with all such unnecessary harshness, and by calming the king's mind soon caused a favorable change to take place.—Yet it was many weeks before his Majesty could resume his functions. It was supposed that the malady would be of long duration, if not permanent, and a regency was therefore necessary. Mr. Pitt's conduct throughout is entitled to the highest praise, while, as in 1784, Mr. Burke, and Mr. Fox placed themselves in a wrong position, and greatly injured themselves by linking their fortunes to those of the Prince of Wales, then deservedly most unpopular. They claimed that his Royal Highness was entitled as of right to the reins of government, and denied that parliament had any authority in the premises. Thinking the ship was sinking, Lord Thurlow made haste to leave his colleagues, and treacherously opened negotiations with the Prince. Finding afterwards, that the king might recover, he arose in the House of Lords,

and with characteristic effrontery, uttered the memorable words: "When I forget my king, may my God forget me?" These were repeated throughout the country, printed, framed, and glazed, and engraved on innumerable snuff-boxes, people generally believing the chancellor to be as honest as he was rough. But with some who heard him, his speech had a very different effect. Burke is said to have muttered "The best thing that can happen to you." John Wilkes more profanely said, "Forget you, he will see you d—d first." Pitt who was aware of his colleagues' baseness, went away exclaiming, "What a rascal!"

The unpopularity of the Prince of Wales allowed Mr. Pitt to impose great restrictions upon his power. His Regency Bill may or may not have been altogether wise; on that people still differ, but no one now denies that it was based upon the strictest constitutional principles, and in entire conformity with the rule of succession established in 1688. Its leading features were adopted twenty years later, and the question settled forever. The prince intended so soon as he assumed the Administration to change the ministry; but as the prime minister was preparing to return to the bar, the king happily recovered, and the terrible alternative of the prince's government was avoided. This was the zenith of Pitt's power and glory.

In the same year, the French Revolution, with all its attendant calamities, burst upon Europe. The burning words of Burke and the demoniac madness of the Jacobins stirred the whole world with contending passions; the Whig party was broken asunder, and the great orator and philosopher led the larger portion across to the ministerial benches. But Mr. Pitt had no desire to mix himself with the quarrel. Never did a statesman endeavor more strenuously to allay the tempest which had been excited, and to preserve peace. His opinions, his wishes, his plans in the crisis were all, as they generally were, correct, liberal, and enlightened; but the labor of repressing the excitement was beyond human power. His master, his colleagues, his supporters, his most intimate friends, his old opponents—the pulpit, the press, and the people, clamored for war against the regicides. In France, when it was evident that Great Britain would not make common cause with the Jacobins, the cry for war was equally great. All the premier's efforts to teach wisdom and moderation were in vain.

Was it his duty to resign? So difficult and delicate a

question will be decided differently by different minds. By resigning he could not have prevented war; he was no longer necessary to the Administration. Burke or Dundas, Grenville or Windham, might easily have carried on the government. We are convinced that his motives in remaining were patriotic, whether his decision was right or wrong.

Having determined to yield to the national desire, Lord Macaulay thinks that he should have gone the full length of Burke's policy, and "should have proclaimed a holy war for religion, morality, property, order, public law, and should have thus opposed to the Jacobins an energy equal to their own."

The opinion of Mr. Burke and Lord Macaulay is as authoritative as any abstract opinion well can be, and it is with diffidence and pain that we feel constrained to differ from two men whom we so do deeply reverence. The whole subject has of late attracted attention in reference to the rebellion in the United States, and Mr. Burke has been claimed by opposing parties as an authority upon the manner in which it should be suppressed; and the opinions expressed in the *Reflections on the French Revolution*, and the *Letters on a Regicide Peace*, have been quoted and plagiarized in numerous pamphlets, speeches, sermons, and editorials. It is hardly necessary for us to remark in passing, that what we may say has reference to nothing beyond the subject of this article. And with great submission we object to the policy advocated by Mr. Burke, and approved by Lord Macaulay, because we think that in its results it would have been unwise, unchristian, and inhuman.

The term "holy war" is a little ambiguous, but from the context, especially from the mention of the energy of the Jacobins, we suppose Lord Macaulay meant a "holy war" in the sense in which the Crusade against the Albigensians, the invasion of the Saracens, and the extermination of the Moors in Spain, were holy wars. Undoubtedly the English might have been lashed into Jacobinical frenzy, and thus "an energy equal to their own" have been opposed to the Committee of Public Safety. But can any man really bear to look at the natural termination of such a course? At warfare without the mitigations which Christianity and chivalry had for centuries imposed? At a nation crushed as Simon de Montfort crushed out the heresies of Languedoc? At devastations which would have filled with horror even the merciless Machivaellian Louvois? And when this storm had

been excited, who could have assuaged or even directed it? Lord Macaulay condemns the severity of Mr. Pitt's internal administration. "The old laws of Scotland," says he, "against sedition, laws which were considered by Englishmen as barbarous, and which a succession of governments had suffered to rest, were now furbished up and sharpened anew. Men of cultivated minds and polished manners were for offences which at Westminster would have been treated as mere misdemeanors, sent to herd with felons at Botany Bay. Some reformers, whose opinions were extravagant, and whose language was intemperate, but who had never dreamed of subverting the government by physical force, were indicted for high treason, and were saved from the gallows only by the righteous verdicts of juries." Had a crusade been begun against the Jacobins, its influence would have extended to all who sympathized with the Jacobins, at home, and we imagine that not only old laws, but the thumbscrew and boot would have been "furbished up" at Edinburgh; and not only Horne Tooke, and Hardy, but also Fox and Sheridan, Lord Lansdowne and the Duke of Bedford would have been both indicted and convicted of high treason at London, and would have perished on the scaffold.

The faults and failures of Mr. Pitt's administration during this war are not to be ascribed to his misapprehension of its nature, but to the want of original and vigorous plans, vigorously executed. Everything was done upon a small scale, except the expenditure, which was wasteful in the extreme. The Duke of York, a dissipated young man who never displayed capacity for a command above a colonelcy, without experience, and without an experienced staff, was sent with a small miserably equipped and heterogeneous army to nibble away upon the Netherlands frontier; just as, forty years before, the dearest hopes of Englishmen had been intrusted to the incapacity of the Duke of Cumberland. All the worst traits of the old Hanoverian policy, mercenaries, subsidies, and treaties with selfish and unprincipled sovereigns were again in favor. Sums of money which would have created the finest army in Europe were thus thrown away. In the meantime incapacity and irresolution reigned in Downing street. If the navy was not so entirely worthless, it was because, as Macaulay says, no mismanagement could ruin it. England never passed through a more humiliating period than when governed by one of the ablest men that ever filled the office of prime minister.

For all this there is little excuse. Now was the time for Mr. Pitt to bestow his entire strength upon the Administration; now was the time for him to sweep away the useless great names that incumbered the cabinet; now was the time for him to firmly withstand all little objections made by the king. There was no opposition in parliament; the people were with him; his resources were boundless; his ascendancy was universally submitted to. Instead of wasting his talents in convincing the House of Commons that his imbecile policy was vigorous, he should have devoted them to making it such that elaborate defences of it would be unnecessary. How differently would Richelieu or Louvois, Chatham, or Palmerston have acted? In the next generation, such ordinary men as Lords Liverpool and Castlereagh, with far smaller advantages, prove far more efficient war ministers. Canning had found them a great general, whom they had the sense to stand by; but Chatham or Canning would have found a general as readily in 1794 as they did in 1759 and in 1809.

Weak and vacillating where he should have been prompt and vigorous, in internal affairs, Mr. Pitt erred in the other extreme. His administration was unjustifiably harsh and cruel. Censures upon his course, doubts about the wisdom of his policy, criticisms upon his administration, were treated as sedition. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended; old laws in all their rigor enforced; new enactments of unprecedented severity obtained. The mildness which Walpole had introduced into the administration of the government was superseded by a policy that almost equalled the administrations of the Stuarts.

We turn with pleasure from this to the subject of Ireland, and if Mr. Pitt was not successful in his Irish policy, it was no fault of his. This is the redeeming part of the last eight years of his first ministry. He succeeded in abolishing penal laws, in encouraging trade; and he sought to make the two nations one people. If he had fully succeeded in his measures he would, we are convinced, have attained this result. By the mismanagement of Lord Camden, the lord-lieutenant, a formidable rebellion was excited in Ireland, which it took all the powers of the Marquis Cornwallis to quell. Mr. Pitt then proposed to form a parliamentary union to do away with all religious disabilities, and to pursue a policy of conciliation worthy of his comprehensive mind. The union was effected, with a pledge from the Min-

ister that Roman Catholic Emancipation should follow. And had Mr. Pitt been left to his own course, he might have overcome the scruples of the king, who imagined that his coronation oath to maintain the Protestant religion, prevented his giving his assent to these measures; and Lord Loughborough, whom Pitt had injudiciously admitted into the Cabinet, and Lord Auckland—a small man whom he had loaded with favors—seemingly from the mere wanton love of treachery—for they had no principles of any kind—betrayed the minister's counsel, and did everything in their power to alarm the king and to encourage his delusion. The anxiety and worry brought a return of the king's old malady, and his Majesty, it is said, in one of his insane fits, called together his family, read to them the coronation oath, and told them if he broke it, the crown would pass to the King of Sardinia.

Finding it impossible to overcome the royal scruples, and feeling himself bound by his pledge to the Irish, Mr. Pitt resigned his office on the 14th of March, 1801, after holding it seventeen years. Formerly it was asserted that the Irish question was a mere ruse, and that he resigned because he could not endure the thought of making peace with France, but this is no longer credited. Mr. Pitt was always anxious to restore the blessings of peace to the country, and always, we believe, hated the war into which he had been hurried. The cry of no peace with regicides never really influenced him or his policy. Had he remained in office, peace would not have been long delayed. He resigned solely because he could not grant relief to the Roman Catholics.

And here we must leave him. We had hoped to follow him into his retirement, and into that melancholy return to office, when men whom he had raised out of the dust basely deserted him, and where he experienced a series of mortifications that broke his heart. But we have already far exceeded our intended limits, and we can no longer trespass upon the reader's indulgence. Many papers throwing light upon the secrets of the English government at this period, from time to time are being published, and we may, possibly, take advantage of some of them to resume our subject at no distant day. We cannot close, however, without thanking Lord Stanhope for these most interesting volumes; and we hope that they are by no means the last which we shall have from him.

- ART. VI.—1. *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*. BENEDICTO SPINOZA, 1670.
2. *Cartesii Principia Philosophiæ more geometrico demonstrata*. *Id.*
3. *Ethica ordine geometrico demonstrata et in quinque partes distincta*. *Id.*
4. *Benedicti de Spinoza Opera quæ supersunt omnia*. Edited by C. H. BRUDEN. 3 vols. Leipsic, 1843.
5. *Oeuvres de Spinoza*. Traduit, par AB. GAISSET.
6. *Refutation des Erreurs de Benoit de Spinoza*, par M. DE FENELON, Archevêque de Cambrai, par P. LAMAY et par M. LE COMPTE DE BOULLAINVILLIERS, avec la Vie de Spinoza, écrite par M. JEAN COLERUS, &c. &c.

AMONG no other class do extremes meet so often as among philosophers. That all worthy of the name are truly wise, when compared to the rest of mankind, is not to be disputed; but the wisest often entertain the most foolish ideas on certain subjects. Hence the justness of the remark of Cicero. "Nothing can be said so absurd that has not been said before by some of the philosophers."* To none is this more applicable than to Spinoza, who reasoned admirably and profoundly on every subject but the greatest of all he attempted to discuss. To his fellow-creatures he was well disposed, kind and benevolent, but to his Creator he denied attributes known to be possessed even by the brute. These two statements seem scarcely consistent with each other; they are not the less true, however, on this account. But if Spinoza was wrong, as none deny he was, save a few devoted disciples, why should we hate him for being so? Let us rather hate the errors into which he has fallen, and exhibit them in their true character, so that the unwary may be on their guard against them.

In our opinion there is as little harm in discussing his philosophy as there is in discussing the mythology of the Hindoos, the Greeks, or the Romans. The absurdity of the latter is now universally understood, yet it is far more credible, far less revolting, than the former. It is better to believe in a plurality of gods than to deny, as Spinoza does, that there is a God at all distinct from matter; for what he would have the world believe is the monstrous doctrine that there is but the one substance in the universe; that it is the nature of this substance to develop itself; that all beings and all objects, including the sun, the planets, the human race, the lower

* Nihil tam absurde dici potest, quod non dicatur ab aliquo philosophorum.

animals, the vegetable and mineral kingdoms, all thoughts and ideas, are but modifications of that one universal substance.

This substance, indeed, he calls God, but he denies it volition and design. From this it follows, according to Spinoza, that we have no faculty of our own, or any power whatever—even the matter of which our bodies and minds are composed is no more ours than it is that of the elephant, of the granite rock, or of the sun or moon. In other words, he ridicules the idea of our having any personality. "All I can say," he observes, "to those who believe they can speak, be silent, in a word, act in virtue of a decision of the soul, is that they dream with their eyes open." It seems difficult to take a serious view of such doctrine, yet the greatest minds which the modern world has known have acknowledged the superiority of Spinoza as a logician—geniuses like Goethe, Novalis, Lessing and Schleiermacher, have bestowed on him the most enthusiastic admiration. Were it not for recognition like this it would not be necessary to notice the works of Spinoza, but such recognition invests both the works and the author with an interest which it would be idle to deny, and which fortunately it would not be necessary to conceal even were such possible.

The character and habits of one who has exercised such an influence on some of the greatest thinkers of our era cannot be regarded with indifference, especially when it is borne in mind that however absurd and revolting his philosophy is, it forms the basis of several of the most prominent systems of the present day, and of almost every German system. Of the veneration in which he is held in Germany, some idea may be formed from the appeal of Schleiermacher, in which he calls upon all thinkers to offer up with him "a lock of hair to the manes of the holy but persecuted Spinoza."

This shows the powerful influence the human mind is capable of exercising even when it errs most. That Spinoza was the greatest of pantheists none question any longer save those who are incapable of judging. It is further admitted that his *Ethica* is the most perfect book in existence considered as a system of logic. Those who detest it most, and regard it as the most fallacious and most pernicious book ever written, do it this justice, when capable of divesting themselves of that narrow and fatal prejudice which finds nothing good in what it dislikes. As these remarks are calculated, however, to represent Spinoza in a repulsive light,

and perhaps to prevent those who have a sensitive religious conscience from paying any further attention to himself or his works, before proceeding any farther, we will extract his profession of faith made to those who justly reproached him for seeking to degrade the Creator to a level with the most grovelling of his creatures. It is proper to add that, in addition to this, he was charged with being in favor of all kinds of licentiousness. "If I also concluded, says Spinoza, that the idea of God, comprised in that of the infinity of the universe, excused me from obedience, love, and worship, I should make a still more pernicious use of my reason: for it is evident to me that the laws which I *have* received, not by the relation or intervention of other men, but immediately from him, are those which the light of nature points out to me as the true guides of rational conduct. If I failed of obedience in this particular, I should sin, not only against the principle of my being and the society of my kind, but also against myself, in depriving myself of the most solid advantage of my existence. This obedience does, it is true, bind me only to the duties of my state, and maker. We look on all beside as frivolous practices, invented in superstition, to serve the purposes of their inventors. With regard to the love of God, *so far, I conceive, is this idea from tending to weaken it, that no other is more calculated to increase it*; since through it I know that God is intimate with my being; that he gives me existence, and my every property; but he gives me them liberally, without reproach, without interest, without subjecting me to anything but my own nature. It banishes fear, uneasiness, distrust, and all the effects of a vulgar or interested love. It informs me, that this is a good which I cannot lose, and which I possess the more fully, as I know and love it."

Although Spinoza is confessedly the most accomplished of logicians, he frequently contradicts himself. Thus, in one place he ridicules final causes; in another he admits their full force; again, in one passage he denies that the Universal Being has any will or design, whereas in another he allows him those very attributes, although only by implication. We have an instance of this in his *Being in General and Particular*, where he says: "Permit me for a few moments to dwell on the wonderful *dispensation of nature*, which, having enriched the constitution of man with *all the resources necessary to prolong to a certain term the duration of his frail existence*, and to animate his knowledge of himself by that of an infinity of distant objects, seems *purposely* to have neglected to give

him the means of well knowing what he is obliged to make a more ordinary use of—the individuals of his own species. Yet, when duly considered, this appears less the effect of a refusal than of an extreme liberality; for, if there were any intelligent being that could penetrate another against his will, he would enjoy such an advantage as would of itself exclude him from society; whereas, in the present state of things, each individual enjoying himself in full independence communicates himself so much only as he finds convenient."

In this passage not only volition and design, but also beneficence, are attributed to the great First Cause; but the fact may be accounted for on two grounds. First, it is impossible for any one to be consistent with himself in seeking to prove that the universe either came into existence of itself, or has existed from all eternity, and that in either case it is not presided over by an intelligent being. Who could be consistent with himself, or with common sense, in maintaining such doctrine? But the disciples of Spinoza seek to account for those inconsistencies by telling us that so amiable and conciliatory was the disposition of their master that he frequently made admissions which were entirely at variance with his convictions, rather than wound the sensibilities or do violence to the religious scruples of his friends. Whether this be true or not, it is certain that he was much bolder, or rather more reckless, in those of his works which he thought would not be published during his life, than he was in those intended for immediate publication. In the latter he merely hinted at theories which he has discussed in detail in the former; but whether he did this to avoid giving offence to his personal friends, or to avoid persecution, remains a disputed point; one, however, which we shall be better able to judge after we have bestowed some attention on the circumstances in which he was placed and the influences by which he was surrounded.

As the son of Jewish parents Spinoza received the name of Baruch, which he changed in time to its Latin equivalent, Benedictus. His father was a Portuguese merchant, who, having been successful in business, removed to Holland, where the future philosopher was born, at Amsterdam, on the 24th of November, 1632. It seems that his parents were so poor as to be unable to give him any education; but the rabbis took charge of him, and undertook to give him the kind of education which they valued most, namely, a thorough knowledge both of the Bible and the Talmud.

He read the Scriptures with the utmost care, and soon became so familiar with the Pentateuch that even the head rabbi of Amsterdam, Moses Morteira, regarded as one of the most learned theologians of his time, found it difficult to answer many of his questions. More than once he was accused of presumption and insolence for having been thus curious; but his general conduct and demeanor were so unassuming, truthful and gentle that he was readily acquitted of all intention of annoying his instructors, or giving them any more trouble than he thought necessary. In short, he was so good a boy that it seemed absurd to charge him with any intentional misconduct.

Being well acquainted with both the Bible and the Talmud, and also pretty well versed in Hebrew, he was very anxious to learn Latin. As he had no money to pay for his instruction, he offered to teach mathematics to the junior students at the school of Dr. Van den Ende in exchange for tuition in Latin, and his proposition was readily accepted. The Doctor had not time to teach him, but he delegated the duty to his daughter, who was fully competent for it. Young Spinoza made great proficiency under her tuition, and would probably have made more had he not fallen in love with her before he had been receiving her lessons one month. It seems that she was by no means pretty; her portraits represent her features as very plain, if not decidedly homely, and she had a strong tendency to corpulency withal. The superior qualities of her mind and her excellent education secured her many admirers in addition to Spinoza. She preferred a young merchant of Hamburgh, who had also been her pupil, and who was able to give her rich presents in jewelry, which Spinoza was not; the latter loved her too well to dislike her even for this, and he remained unmarried forever.

The rabbis became alarmed when they heard that he was making great progress in Latin, and was in the habit of absenting himself more and more from the synagogue. Knowing too well what his views were in regard to Judaism, and the fatal skill and ability with which he infused them into the minds of others, they now offered him a pension of a thousand florins on condition that he would conform externally to their system of worship, while he was at liberty to entertain in private whatever opinions pleased him best. This seemed a tempting offer to one who had scarcely the means of procuring the commonest necessities of life. But he unhesitatingly declined it. "If you gave ten times the

amount," he says, "it would not make me a hypocrite." The first communication he receives after this informs him that he is excommunicated from the synagogue, and that even his parents or sisters cannot any longer associate with him. When some of his friends remonstrated with him, and reminded him how much his prospects in life would be affected by this sentence, he replied calmly, as follows: "I know no better than you what is to become of me, but I have taken nothing which is not mine, and I have done no one any wrong, whatever I may suffer."

The rabbis were not content with thus making an outlaw of young Spinoza. They resolved to ruin Van den Ende also, for affording him an asylum; and they were entirely successful. They represented that he taught atheism in his school, and he was banished for ever from Holland, his native country. It is not strange that for these vindictive acts their system of religion was assailed with increased earnestness and vigor by Spinoza, which so enraged some of the fanatics among his late brethren that one night, while he was passing the synagogue, an attempt was made to assassinate him with a dagger. He does not seem to have sought any redress; he continued to pursue his investigations with as much tranquillity of mind as if he were the most comfortable of mankind. Finding that his mathematical knowledge was of no use to him, pecuniarily, after the banishment of Van den Ende, as no other teacher would dare to employ him, he had to turn his attention to the making of glass lenses, to procure himself wherewith to live.

In a short time he became so expert in his new business that astronomers from all parts of Europe visited him, in order to secure some of his glasses. Among others who honored him in this way was the illustrious Leibnitz; although it is thought that the discoverer of the differential calculus visited him much more on account of his philosophical speculations than the superiority of his glasses. The Jews hated him all the more implacably and intensely, as he became thus distinguished, and they must have had considerable influence at Amsterdam at the time, for they succeeded in having him banished from the city. He took up his residence at Rynsburg, near Leyden, with some friends who sympathized with him in his distress, and did all they could to aid him in his struggle for existence. It was while residing here that he published his first work. He subsequently removed to the Hague, on the invitation of Jan de Witt, one

of the most eminent statesmen of his time. Here he remained permanently, and published his two principal works, his friend, Jan de Witt, allowing him a pension of about \$200 a year. This may seem a small sum, but it was a considerable amount for one whose habits were so abstemious that he used to live on about four sous a day. Meantime his small treatise on the Cartesian philosophy had attracted the attention of the learned throughout Europe, and numbered among his correspondents several of the most distinguished men of his time, including the Prince of Condé, Henry Oldenburg, Louis Meyer, and Simon de Vries.

It was while he was stopping at a cheap boarding house at Vouburg, near the Hague, in 1670, that he published his most famous work the *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*. This excited all Christendom, as well as all Judea, against him; but it does not seem that any Christian sect sought to do him any personal injury. Several ecclesiastics, both Protestant and Catholic, sought to convince him of his errors, and others wrote treatises to confute him, and put the unwary on their guard against his teachings. Among those who pursued the latter course, but at a later period, was the good and amiable Fénélon, archbishop of Cambray, and author of *Telemaque*, whose *Refutation des Erreurs de Benoît de Spinoza* was published at Brussels, in 1731. In short, not fewer than one hundred works were published against Spinoza from 1670 to 1750, but it need hardly be added that most, if not the whole, of these did more harm than good by bringing the objectionable book before thousands, who without them might never have heard of it.

In 1672 Spinoza lost his best friend, the statesman, Jan de Witt, who was murdered by an infuriated mob in the prison of the Hague. He lost all patience at this event, and wept like a child, but not for what he might have gained by his late friend had he been permitted to live; even his enemies admitted that he was actuated by no such selfish motives. This indeed was sufficiently evident, for he could have had a much larger sum from his friend De Vries who pressed him to take a considerable amount, but did so in vain. Soon after De Vries died also, and bequeathed him a portion of the money he had formerly declined; and it was with difficulty his friend's brother induced him to accept 300 florins. But his genius had made him friends everywhere. The Elector Palatine had been so much impressed with his *Tractatus*, although opposed to the doctrine which it inculcated, that he gave or-

ders in the beginning of 1671 to his private secretary, Dr. Fabricius, to invite Spinoza to a professor's chair in the celebrated university of Heidelberg *cum amplissima philosophandi libertate*. The only condition required was that the philosopher would not meddle with existing creeds. He returned his grateful thanks to the elector, but declined to accept the proffered chair. Different reasons are assigned for this; but what is most generally believed is, that he thought he would be under too much restraint, and that he preferred to live and die poor rather than to sacrifice his right to think, write, and speak as he thought proper. His *Ethica*, to which he had devoted ten years of close study, was now finished. He tried to publish it in his native city, but so strong was the prejudice against his previous works that no publisher would dare to issue it. He had therefore to leave it aside, but he did so only with the intention of making another trial when the present excitement subsided. In the meantime he commenced to write a political treatise on the theory of human society, but did not live to finish it. M. Jean Colerus, the most reliable of his biographers, tells us that he was never robust, but almost always in a delicate state of health, which was doubtless caused by close application and intense study. He had shown symptoms of consumption so early as his fifteenth year; this will account for his having died at the comparatively early age of forty-four years. Finding that he was much worse on the 21st of February, 1677, than he had been during his last illness, he sent for Dr. Louis Meyer, the physician of Amsterdam, the bold, courageous friend who had written the introduction to his first work, as a means of introducing him to the public. But when the doctor arrived he found his patient much more uneasy about the publication of his *Ethica* than about his death, which he felt himself was rapidly approaching. He had but just commenced to add an explanatory note to a passage in his favorite work when he leant gently back in his chair, and died, without a struggle.

What is most remarkable in relation to the excitement caused by the system of Spinoza is, that the same views had been entertained and inculcated by several of the ancient philosophers. No one of the many who undertook to refute him during his lifetime seems to have thought of this; although there is more or less evidence of the fact in the writings of all the ancient philosophers. We see the traces of such a belief even in the plays of the ancient Hindoos. But it forms the ground-work of more than one of the great

Hindoo epics. Instance the *Mahā Bharata*, in which Krishna reproaches the hero for his lack of resentment, energy and resolution, showing him how little he understands the nature of the soul, or its relation to God, and telling him that if he were acquainted with those mysteries he would have no fear of death :

"Thou mourn'st for those thou shouldst not mourn, albeit thy words are
like the wise,
 For those that live, or those that die, may never mourn the truly wise.
Né'er was the time when I was not, nor thou nor yonder kings of earth ;
Hereafter né'er shall be the time when one of us shall cease to be."

The Chinese philosopher Foe entertained a similar opinion.* There is little doubt at the present day, among those who have investigated the subject, that a similar doctrine was inculcated by the Chaldean Magi ; but that it was taught by several of the Greek philosophers, and by the Chinese philosopher Foe,† is beyond question. Parmenides, Melissus, Xenophanes and Zeno Eleates, with several others, taught as plainly as Spinoza that all things are one. Nor was the dogma unknown to the Romans, as any careful, intelligent reader of the classics may remember. There are numerous passages in Virgil which refer to an universal, indestructible substance. The atheistical poem of Lucretius means nothing if it does not mean that general nature, or the universe, is all that we can conceive to be God. Lucan introduces Cato of Utica, proclaiming these words : " We are all united to the Divinity, who does not need our words ; he gave us at our birth all that we required to know ; he has no need of the arid sands of Lybia to reveal the truth, so that he may be known only by a small number. He renders himself intelligible to all ; he fills all places, the earth, the sea, the sky—why go to seek him farther ?" In another passage he asks, " has God any other throne than the earth, the sea, the air, the heavens, and virtue ?" and concludes by saying that "*whatever we see and whatever moves is God.*"

Estne Dei sedes nisi terra, et pontus, et æer
 Et cælum et virtus ? superos quid quaerimus ultra ?
 Jupiter quodcumque vides, quodcumque noveris.

* Teterrimum virus Atheismi jam moriturus evomuisse perhibetur, diserte professus, se per annos quadraginta eoque amplius non declarasse mundo veritatem, sed umbratili et metaphorica doctrina contentum, figuris, similibus, et parabolis, nudam veritatem occultasse ; at nunc tandem, quando esset morti proximus, arcanum sensum animi sui significare velle : extra vacuum igitur et inane, primum scilicet rerum omnium principium, nihil esse quod quaeratur, nihil in quo collocetur spes nostra. *Acta Eruditor. Lipsiens.* 1838, p. 267.

† Luc. Phars. L. ix. v. 578.

Still plainer is the language of Seneca. Speaking of the attributes of the Diety, he says : " Dost thou wish to call him fate? you will not err in doing so. He it is on whom all things depend, the cause of causes. Dost thou wish to call him providence, thou speakest correctly. * * Dost thou wish to call him nature? thou wilt not do wrong. He it is indeed by whom all things are produced, and by whose spirit we live. Dost thou wish to call him the *world*? thou wilt not be deceived in doing so. He is indeed all that thou seest, &c., &c.*

Bayle, in his excellent article on Spinoza, given in his famous Dictionary, quotes an intelligent recent traveller in India, to show that Spinozism is but a particular method of explaining a dogma which is widely popular in India. " You doubtless know the doctrine," says the traveller referred to, " of many ancient philosophers regarding the great soul pervading all things, of which they endeavor to prove our souls and those of animals portions. If we examine the works of Plato and Aristotle, we will discover what they have done for the advancement of this idea. It is still universal among the Hindoo pundits, it is the same doctrine which is entertained by the cabal of Soufi, and most of the literati of Persia, and is expressed clearly and emphatically in the Persian poem of Goultschen-raz, the Garden of Mysteries; the same is true of Fluddana, whom Gassendi has so learnedly refuted. But these cabalists, or Hindoo pundits, of whom I wish to speak, are more daring than any among these philosophers, asserting that God, or this sovereign Being whom they call Achar, immoveable, unchangeable, has not only formed all spirits from his own substance, but all that is material or corporeal in the entire universe; moreover, that this is produced not merely by means of efficient causes, but after the manner of a spider who spins a web from its own body which it is able to extend at pleasure. Creation, then, say these visionary teachers, is nothing more than the mere extension and division which God makes of his own substance; various filaments which he draws from his own vitals, in the same manner that dissolution is nothing

* Vis illum fatum vocare? non errabis. Hic est, ex quo suspensa sunt omnia, causa causarum. Vis illum providentiam dicere? recte dicēs. Est enim, cujus consilio huic mundo providetur, ut inconcussus eat et actus suos explicet. Vis illum naturam vocare? non peccabis. Est enim, ex quo nata sunt omnia, cujus spiritu vivimus. Vis illum vocare mundum? non falleris. Ipse enim est totum quod vides, totus suis partibus inditus, et se sustinent vi sua. Senecæ Quaest. Natur. B. II, c. 45.

more than the recovery of this divine substance, the mere withdrawal of these numerous fibres, so that the last day of the world, which they call *maperlé* or *perlea*, in which they believe all things will be destroyed, is but the general rendition of all these scattered threads. There is no reality then, as they assert, in all we see, or hear, taste, touch, or smell; the world is but a dream, a mere illusion, while the multiplicity and diversity of objects we perceive form in reality one great whole, entire, indivisible, which is God himself; as the various numbers which we use, ten, twenty, a hundred, a thousand, and the rest, are mere repetitions of the primary unit. But if you desire a reason for this theory, or wish them to explain how this expansion and contraction of substance, this extension, this apparent diversity, are produced, or how God, who is not corporeal, but dual and incorruptible, as they affirm, is able to divide his substance into material and spiritual portions, they will reply to you with most beautiful similes; for instance, that God is like an immense ocean in which many small bottles filled with water are supported, wherever these bottles may float they are still in the same ocean, in the same water, and when their limits are broken, they mingle with the common mass of which they are parts: or again, they tell you God is like a solar ray, which is the same throughout the world, but produces numberless images diversified by the object upon which it falls, and the mediums through which it passes. They reward your inquiries with nothing but these comparisons, which bear no proportion whatever to the Deity, and are only useful to throw dust in the eyes of the ignorant. It is useless to hope you have gained an advantage by saying that these portions are truly in a similar element, but that it is not the same; or that it is a similar, but not the same ray throughout all the world, and in this manner to present the various other objections; they will return to their flowery comparisons, or like the Soufi, to the beautiful poetry of Gaultchen-raz.”*

M. Stoupp, another traveller of the same period, wrote a book on the state of religion in Holland, entitled *La Religion des Hollandais*, into which he introduced some interesting particulars relative to Spinoza. It consists principally of letters written to friends in France while the author was

* Beznier, suite des Mémoires sur l'Empire du grand Mogul, p. 202, et suiv. Edition de Hollande.

stationed at Utrecht, in 1673, as a lieutenant-colonel of a Swiss regiment in the French service. "I cannot think," he says, "that I have described to you all of the religions of this country without speaking of a learned and illustrious man who, I am assured, has a great number of disciples devoted to his doctrines. His name is Spinoza; he was born a Jew, but has neither abjured Judaism nor embraced Christianity: so he is a very bad Jew, and no better Christian. Some years ago he wrote a book in Latin, entitled *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*, in which he seems to have for his principal object the overthrow of all religions, particularly the Jewish and Christian, and the introduction of atheism, free-thinking, and everything else. He asserts that they have all been invented for the benefit received from them by the public, in order that all citizens may live honestly, yielding due obedience to authority; and that they should submit to the dictates of virtue not for the hope of any recompense hereafter, but for the satisfaction of being virtuous, and for the benefits received from such a course in this life: he does not assert openly in his book the opinion he entertains of the Divinity; referring to it only by hints and insinuations; whereas in conversation he says boldly that God is not a being endowed with intelligence, infinitely perfect and happy as we suppose, but that he is no more than the natural moral rectitude inherent in all creatures. Spinoza lives in this country; he has dwelt for some time at the Hague, where he has been visited by all curious people, and even by ladies of rank, who pride themselves on having more intellect than the rest of their sex. His disciples dare not avow themselves, because his book overthrows the very foundation of all religion; it has been condemned by a public decree of the states, and although they have not prohibited the sale of it, they will not allow it publicly. Among the many theologians here, there is not one who dared combat the opinions advanced by this author in his treatise. I am much surprised that the author displays a familiar acquaintance with the Hebrew language, with all the Jewish ceremonies and customs, and a profound knowledge of philosophy; the theologians cannot say that the book is not worthy of refutation, and if they continue silent one cannot but remark, either that they show no sense of duty in allowing so pernicious a book to remain so long without a reply, that they approve the sentiments of the author, or that they have not sufficient courage and force to combat them."*

* Religion des Hollandois, Lettre III, p. 65, et suiv.

The whole system of Spinoza is founded on the error of Descartes, that the universe is a *plenum*, and consequently that matter is infinite. Had Sir Isaac Newton done no other service to mankind but to prove that Descartes was wrong, in this respect, that there could be no motion without a void, he would have been entitled to everlasting gratitude, for he has as clearly demonstrated the existence of a Supreme Being as he has the power of gravity, or the truth of the doctrine of fluxions. Nowhere is Bayle more logical and eloquent than in his refutation of Spinozism. It is impossible, he says, that the universe should be but one substance, since whatever is extended must necessarily have parts, and whatever has parts must be a compound. And as the parts of extension do not subsist in each other, it follows either that extension in general is not substance, or that every part of extension is a different substance. Now, according to Spinoza, extension in general is an attribute of substance. And he admits with other philosophers that the attributes of substance do not really differ from the substance itself. He must therefore allow that extension in general is substance; whence it will follow that every part of extension is a particular substance, which overturns his whole system. If it be absurd to make God extended, as this robs him of his simplicity, and makes him consist of parts, it is still worse to reduce him to the condition of matter; matter the theatre of all sorts of changes, the field of battle of contrary causes, the subject of all corruptions and generations; in a word, the being of all others the most incompatible with the immutability of the Deity. If Spinozism appears extravagant when we consider God as the subject of all the mutations, corruptions and generations in bodies, it will be found still worse when we consider him the subject of all the modifications of thinking. It is no small matter to unite extension and thinking in the same subject, since it is not a union like that of two metals; or of water and wine that will serve the purpose; these last only require juxtaposition, whereas to combine extension and thinking requires an identity. Thinking and extension are two attributes identified with the substance, and consequently they are identified with each other by the fundamental rule of all logic. Again, when we say that a man denies this, or affirms that, likes this, dislikes that, &c., we make all those attributes apply to the substance of his mind, not to his

thoughts, which are only accidents and modifications of it; if, therefore, what Spinoza advances be true, that men are moralities of God it would be false to say *Peter denies, likes, wills, &c.*, since, according to this system, it is God that denies, likes, dislikes, &c., and consequently all the demonstrations which arise from the thoughts, desires, &c., apply properly and physically to the substance of God. From which it also follows that God affirms and denies, loves and hates, wills and nills the same thing, at the same time and under the same conditions, contrary to the great principle of reasoning, *Opposita sunt quae et neque de se invicem, neque de eodem tertio secundum idem eodem modo atque tempore vere affirmari possent*;* which must be false if Spinozism be true, since it cannot be denied that some men love and affirm what others hate and deny, under all the conditions expressed in the rule. But if it be physically absurd to say that the same subject is modified at the same time with all the different thoughts of all men; it is horrible when we consider it in a moral light; since it will follow that the infinite and all perfect Being is not constant, is not the same one moment, but is eternally possessed even of contrary passions; all the uniformity in him in this respect will be, that for one good and wise thought he will have twenty foolish and wicked ones. He will not only be an efficient cause of all the errors, iniquities, and impurities of all men, but also the passive subject of them. He must be united with them in the closest manner that can be conceived, even by a penetrative union, or rather an identity, since the mode is not really distinct from the substance modified.†

The admirers of Spinoza deny that he was an atheist, but what does atheism consist in if not in asserting that there is no being in the universe who exercises volition, or is capable of design?‡ It may well be doubted whether it would not be

* Things that are opposite cannot be affirmed either of themselves in turn, of a second or of a third in the same manner, and at the same time and place.

† Bayle, *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique*, Art. Spinoza.

‡ In no work that we have consulted have we found the doctrine of Spinoza treated in a more enlightened and liberal spirit than in that of the Abbé Barbe, which bears the unpretending title of *Cours Élémentaire de Philosophie à l'usage des établissements d'éducation*. The author makes use of no harsh expression, nor does he indulge in any tedious arguments; but his refutation of Spinoza is not the less complete and satisfactory on this account. So emphatically do the same remarks apply to his mode of dealing with every system of philosophy, and to his estimates of the labors of writers of different countries, however much they may differ from himself, whether in their religious, or philosophical dogmas, that we should be very glad to see the work translated for the use of American schools. "Whatever may be the form," says the abbé, "under which the fundamental idea of pantheism is produced; whether it is conceived under the notion of the in-

better to deny that there is any God, than to admit that there is one who has no power distinct from matter, or one who, if capable of doing anything except what he is impelled to by blind necessity, does more harm than good, or is the cause of more evil than good. It was in reference to a comparison like this that Plutarch observed, long before Spinoza was born, that he would rather have it said that there was no Plutarch than that there was a Plutarch who was inconstant, choleric, false, vindictive, vicious, &c. Still it may be true that Spinoza was really not an atheist after all. We have instances enough of great geniuses attempting to demonstrate what they did not believe. Adelung, Lessing, and other critics and learned men of equal eminence have maintained that even Lucretius, the author of the most atheistical poem ever written, was a believer not only in the existence of a Supreme Being, but also in the immortality of the soul. In not a few instances Cicero has made remarks which would seem to imply that he was an atheist; but none who have carefully read his *Tusculan Disputations*, and *De Natura Deorum*, would believe any such calumny. And if we compare the habits and general conduct of Spinoza as described by those who were entirely adverse to his system, with those of the great orator, we shall find the former much more like a theist than the latter. One of the two most reliable of

finite as among the Vedaists of India; or under that of unity as among the Eleates and among the Neo-Platonics of Alexandria; whether we regard it with Scot-Erigenas, or Bruno, as the supreme unity; with Spinoza as the only and infinite substance, or with the pantheists of the present day; whether it be designated by the names of the absolute, universal identity of idea or of being, these different expressions are, in reality, but nominal differences."

In speaking of the results obtained from the study of philosophy, the same writer forcibly and justly remarks:

"Il faut reconnaître, sans doute, que des résultats positifs ont été obtenus: les principes de la logique, les règles de la méthode, un grand nombre d'observations psychologiques, sont hors de toute contestation; mais les philosophes disputent encore sur ce qu'on a nommé avec raison les questions vitales de l'humanité. Ces tentatives de l'esprit humain si souvent renouvelées, et presque toujours infructueuses, cette opposition perpétuelle des doctrines et des systèmes, nous avertissent de la faiblesse de notre raison, et de l'impuissance où elle est de s'accorder avec elle—même si elle est abandonnée à ses propres forces. La conclusion à tirer de toutes ces recherches et de toutes ces discussions, c'est que, si l'on ne veut pas s'exposer à se perdre dans l'abîme d'un scepticisme plus ou moins absolu, il faut de toute nécessité s'appuyer sur les enseignements d'une philosophie qui prenne pour base l'accord de la raison et de la foi, comme émanant toutes deux d'une même source, l'éternelle vérité: l'une, par des moyens purement naturels, et ayant droit à une part légitime d'indépendance dans ce qui est de son ressort; l'autre, par une voie surnaturelle, et devant éclairer, diriger, rectifier la première, et lui permettre ainsi de prendre son essor avec plus de sécurité, et de s'élever plus haut, à l'abri des orages où la philosophie s'est si souvent perdue elle-même.—Cours Élémentaire de Philosophie, &c. Par M. L'Abbe Barbo, quatrième édition, p. 768.

Spinoza's biographers* assures us that with the exception of what he said in private to his intimate friends who wished to become his disciples, he did not make a single remark in conversation which was not edifying, or from which any one could infer that he denied the existence of the Supreme Ruler of the universe. He never swore, or cursed, never spoke irreverently of the Deity. He even went to church sometimes; and what is more remarkable, he expected others to do so regularly. True, all this may be accounted for on the ground that he believed, as he told his disciples, and recorded in his *Ethica*, that religion was a political invention, whose object was, not to send people to heaven, or save their souls, but to teach them to be honest citizens and obedient, peaceable subjects. If he had not more respect than this at heart for religion, it is certain that he led what might be called a religious life, and by what better criterion can we judge the tree than by its fruit? Since he was fifteen years to the day of his death he was a model of abstemiousness in eating and drinking; he was prone to no vice whatever. His whole soul was absorbed in his studies, to which he devoted fourteen hours out of the twenty-four, and at the same time had a pleasant word for every one he met, save for the vindictive and fanatical Jews who persecuted him. For our own part we prefer to believe that a man of so great a mind, so affectionate and grateful a disposition, and so exemplary a moral character, was at heart a believer in the Omnipotent Being to whom he was indebted for a genius of the highest order.

ART. VII. *Annual Catalogues of Various Universities, Colleges, &c., &c., 1864.*

THE large pile of catalogues on our table reminds us that not only are there more universities and colleges in the United States than in any other country of equal population, but more than in all the countries of Europe put together. An almanac for the present year, now before us, contains a list of nearly four hundred universities and colleges, together with the names of their respective presidents or senior professors. And there are many institutions not included in this, some of which are far superior to those

* M. Kortholt.

that are. The total number is certainly not less than six hundred, whereas the total of all Europe is considerably less than one hundred. Our female universities and colleges alone would, if all were counted, very nearly reach the latter figure.

Yet, if we only reflect on the subject, we cannot boast much. The truth is, that four-fifths of our universities and colleges are vastly inferior to the ordinary classical schools of Germany, France, and England, in the amount of knowledge they communicate, and certainly not more than half a dozen of the remaining one-fifth have any just claims to be ranked with the principal institutions of Europe which bear similar names.

This is no reflection on us as a people. It would be too much for us to expect to build up as many literary institutions in little more than half a century as the greatest nations of the old world have in more than a dozen centuries, not to speak of building more. We have not accomplished anything of the kind. The simple fact is, that it would take at least twenty-five of the general run of our universities and colleges to make one of those of Europe; and unpleasant as the duty is, we must add that a similar deduction must be made from the total of our learned men engaged as college professors and tutors.

If we suppose the number of colleges to be six hundred, and the number of professors in each, twenty, which is but a moderate estimate, without including our female professors, this will give us an aggregate of twelve thousand professors, a number which would make quite a respectable standing army, and it must be admitted that a large proportion, if not the great majority, are much better qualified to fight than they are to teach two-thirds of the branches of which they are the professors. It is no pleasure to us to make these remarks; we should much rather speak in the opposite sense if we could do so with any regard to truth, or to the interests of education. The truth is, that we exaggerate nothing when we say that one good college would be worth fifty of the class to which we are alluding; and the twenty professors of this one might possess more knowledge than the one thousand belonging to the fifty, and yet be in no danger of running mad with too much learning.

It is a great mistake to think that the cause of learning is benefited by multiplying colleges in this way. As well

might it be pretended that the wealth of the nation is increased by multiplying the issues of our paper money. The tendency of one as well as the other is to lower the standard of value. If a good college has to compete with a dozen bad ones it must lower its terms, and of course its means of paying its professors are diminished in the same ratio. It will not meet the question to say that its reputation will support it ; with many, indeed, this is sufficient, but all who wish to secure for their sons a collegiate education are not capable of judging of the relative merits of rival institutions. Not more than one-tenth can tell the difference ; then will not the other nine-tenths be likely to ask themselves whether, after all, the cheap college is not as good as the dear one ? and be it remembered that two or three half-educated persons may, as they frequently do, engage a few rooms in the city, call them a college, and dignify themselves with the title of the Faculty thereof. But without including establishments of this kind at all, without going beyond those whose founders have sufficient influence or money to get a charter from the politicians—that is without going beyond the long list given in the almanac, we have still three times as many colleges as we require. Far be it from us to be opposed to the establishment of colleges ; we are opposed only to the establishment of bad ones ; and we oppose these on the very same grounds that the government of every enlightened country opposes the issue of counterfeit coin. We do not mean that new colleges should not be established—we do not speak against the new more than the old. Indeed, some of the best we know are comparatively new. By all means let those possessing the necessary resources, talents, and other necessary qualifications, including integrity and honesty of purpose, establish a college when they will ; we should have more confidence in it in three years than we should in one established under different auspices a quarter of a century ago, let the terms of either be what they might ; for we are aware that there are religious colleges of the first class whose terms are very moderate, because their object is not so much to make money as it is to place the means of a superior education within the reach of those of their own denomination who could not afford to pay high charges. But those of the right kind must ever be few ; we can no more have a large number of first class colleges than we can of first class cities.

Now let us glance at some of the consequences of this

multiplicity of colleges. We have already intimated that it lowers the standard of education. It is well known that hundreds of students get degrees for attainments which would not secure them an entrance into the freshman class in a college worthy of the name. But they do not the less consider themselves educated on this account; of course their friends regard them in the same light, whereas, in point of fact, they are not half educated. Nevertheless, their mode of speaking and writing is held to be worthy of imitation by those who have been at no college, and at only indifferent schools—that is, by the large majority of their neighbors; and by this means the public taste, instead of being improved as it ought to be, is vitiated; and this vitiation becomes so general, that in time it finds its way into institutions which might be expected to oppose it to the last.

We could easily illustrate these facts from the pile of catalogues before us. The use made of the English language in a large number of them is such, that one often finds it difficult to realize that he is reading the language of a college professor, and not that of a shoemaker or tailor, who tries to praise his goods in the best way he can in order to attract customers. It is a sad commentary on our boasted progress in education that the most ambitious and grandiloquent knight of the scissors could hardly express himself in more bombastic language than that which forms the staple of many of the catalogues before us. We are glad to see, however, that several of those we criticised a year ago, exhibit considerable improvement. This is true, for example, of the catalogue of Columbia College, which was so crude and inflated, nay, so glaringly and vulgarly ungrammatical, last year, as to have really astonished us. The number for 1864, now before us, is free from nearly all the faults which we pointed out in that for 1863. The present is very far, indeed, from being faultless; but its chief blemishes are such as we find pervading all, with a few creditable exceptions. We find a perfect mania for the use of capital letters; they are used promiscuously, without system, or reason.

Whence are we to expect rules or principles, for the guidance of public taste, if not from those institutions which claim to give the highest culture, and which are supposed to qualify the highest class of writers for their profession? Yet far from being furnished with any such rules or principles, from that source, except in a very few instances—we are furnished with the grossest violations of all the principles of

written language. It is not at all strange that it is those who err most egregiously in this way that pretend to give the best instructions in style; none tell us so pompously, or with such a display of polysyllables, what pains they take in correcting the compositions of their pupils, while there is scarcely a sentence in their own "compositions" which does not need correction in one form or other. Now, how can they teach others what they do not understand themselves?

About a century ago it was the habit to begin every noun in an English composition with a capital, but this so much disfigured the typography, that it was discontinued by universal consent. The Germans still adhere to the same habit, but no other enlightened people do so. There is some system in beginning every noun with a capital; but there is no system in distinguishing one-third, one-fourth, or one-fifth of the nouns in a similar manner, commencing the same noun with a capital in one paragraph, and perhaps in the very next with a small letter, although the word does not in either case begin a sentence.

It may then be asked, should we resume the German system? we answer, no; there is no need for it. Be it remembered that the German text is very different from ours in the appearance which it presents to the eye; everybody who has compared the two, is aware that it is not so clear—that its letters in general are much more complex than ours, and consequently more easily confounded with each other in the hurry of reading. The Germans themselves recognize this difference, and it is the only argument their most learned men can adduce in favor of the existing system. Accordingly we find that when they write in any other language none are more chary of the use of capitals. As illustrations of this we refer to those of the works of Humboldt and Leibnitz, originally written in French.

But it is only necessary to glance at the Leipsic editions of English, French, and Italian works in order to understand the broad distinction made by the Germans between German works and those in other languages. But supposing we take the classic languages as examples. We have now before us twelve or fourteen German editions of as many of the Greek and Roman classics; and in no other editions do we find so few capitals. Indeed, we find none except where they are indispensable; and the same remark will apply with equal force to their editions of the Scriptures. We have now on our table, German editions of *Æschylus*, *Euripides*,

and Lucretius in which even the lines of poetry do not commence with a capital. We have never seen any edition of the classics, no matter where printed, in which the words corresponding with king, queen, lord, chief, general congress, senate, senate-house, &c., are distinguished by capitals. But in what standard English work do we find a different state of things? The most polished of European languages is the French, no other modern tongue is so much studied by foreigners, it is, in a word, the court language of every nation in Europe; but in no language are so few capitals used.

Upon the other hand, in no language possessed of a respectable literature are half so many capitals used as there are at present in ours, with the sole exception of the German. But if we ought to imitate our German cousins in using a profusion of capitals, why not use about three times as many *words* also as we do to express our ideas, because they are so liberal in that respect? And yet it is entirely needless to ask the majority of our college professors any such question, for they are quite as profuse in their words as they are in their capitals. Indeed, were it otherwise, it would be strange, since the one kind of profusion as well as the other is a sort of bombast or exaggeration. It is as improper to distinguish every third or fourth word with a capital in writing as it is to lay a particular emphasis on every third or fourth word in speaking. In one case, at well as in the other, their effect is the reverse of what is right. If words or expressions do not possess force of their own, capitals will not impart it to them; one might as well try to make an empty sack stand by putting a large brand on it.

But it is time that we should give a specimen from some of the pamphlets before us, and allow the reader to judge for himself whether we are right or wrong. As we have already spoken of the catalogue of Columbia College and observed that that for the present year exhibits an improvement in its style, on that which we criticised last year, we may as well give a specimen from it. Nor does it make it make much difference in doing so which page we turn to; the following sentence will do as well as any other, and will be quite enough:

"These lectures will still be more essential in future, since candidates for admission into the *Medical Corps of the Army* are now, according to the *Circular* issued from the *Surgeon-General's Office*, dated December 22d, 1862, required to have attended *Lectures on Military Surgery and Hygiene* as part of their preparatory education."—p. 55.

Now would not the majority of the words thus distinguished by capitals be just as expressive with small letters? The former are needless in all, save that which begins the sentence, and in the word December. The term lectures occurs twice in the one sentence; in one place it commences with a small letter, in the other with a capital. Does the term army express more when commenced with a capital, than it would if commenced with a small letter?

It is proper to say, however, that we do not rank Columbia College with the class of institutions which we consider as inferior to ordinary classical schools, although we cannot place it higher than the third, or at best the second, grade of American colleges. We have not given the above specimen from its catalogue as the worst within our reach; but if a second or third rate college will be thus bombastic and puerile, what may we expect from a fifth or sixth rate college? We will not, however, trouble our readers with any more specimens for the present. Suffice it to say, before taking leave of this branch of our subject, that in nine-tenths of the catalogues before us, the initial letter of the word institution, and those of numerous similar words, are capitals. Now, who can assign any satisfactory reason for this? What distinctive character does the term possess? Is not the word donkey, or even *goose*, more distinctive? since one of the former designates a quadruped of a particular species, and the other designates a bird of a particular species, whereas the word institution is just as applicable to a prison, a work-house, or a lunatic asylum as it is to a college. We remember the time when a school-boy would be severely punished for displaying such execrable taste in his compositions. What are we to infer from this? Are our college professors becoming boys, or is intelligence retrograding among us? None who reason on the subject will say that anything is gained by the habit alluded to; a careful exercise of common sense for a very brief period would entirely set it aside, for the Horatian precept in regard to sense and judgment applies to this as forcibly as it does to any other characteristic of a literary style:

Scribendi recte, sapere est principium et fons.

We hope to see a considerable diminution of capitals in the catalogues of next year. If the professors who compile them will read more good books than they do, and indulge in some reflection after they lay down each work, they will be ready

to agree with us this time twelve-month, that they ought to aim at a chaster style of composition than that of the sign painter, or the quack doctor.

Although we have thus alluded to various defects in our collegiate system, we do not derive the less pleasure from bearing testimony to evidences of improvement and progress wherever we have found them; and we are glad to add that unfavorable as the present time unhappily is, in this country, to the calm and peaceful work of developing the youthful intellect, those evidences are neither few nor far between. We see a considerable portion of them in the very first catalogue we happen to open—namely, in that of the University of the City of New York. This affords us all the more pleasure from the fact that this was our favorite among all American colleges of which we had any knowledge before it had been our privilege to be personally acquainted with any of its professors. We learn from the General Catalogue before us that the University was incorporated in 1831, and that its first term commenced at Clinton Hall, in October, 1832. The first class consisted of only three students, who graduated in 1833. The present tasteful and commodious structure on Washington square, was commenced in July, 1833, and was first occupied for purposes of instruction in 1835.

Among the members of the councils and faculties, of whom lists are given in the same catalogue, together with the names of the alumni—all from the foundation of the University to the present, we find several of the most distinguished names in the educational history of our country during the period mentioned. The first chancellor was Rev. James M. Matthews, the second Hon. Theodore Frelinghuysen, LL. D., the third Rev. Isaac Ferris, D. D., LL. D., who has held that position since 1852, and who it is to be hoped, for the benefit of education, will hold it for many years to come; for no other man has proved himself so well qualified to discharge its duties, or has done so much to establish the institution on a firm basis.

It is well-known that when Dr. Ferris was induced to accept the chancellorship by the friends of the University, it was deeply involved in debt; indeed, so precarious was the condition of its finances that it may well be doubted whether it could have been saved by any one possessing less zeal, energy and influence than the present venerable chancellor. No sooner was he installed than he made it his business

to apply personally to those of the friends of education whom he knew could afford to aid the institution ; and we believe that there was scarcely one who did not contribute more or less, some giving as much as \$10,000. To this it is hardly necessary to add that in a few brief months there was not a penny of the debt which was not cancelled. The good work was accomplished early in 1853, and ever since our City University has been increasing from year to year in prosperity and efficiency. It comprises four schools, namely, those of medicine, civil engineering, art, analytical and practical chemistry, and law ; each of which has been under the care from time to time of professors eminent in their respective departments ; several of the faculty being men who enjoy a European fame. The total number of students in last year's Catalogue was 488 ; the total in that for the present year is 528, showing an increase of 40.

Those who will take the trouble to compare the condition of Columbia College with that of the University, from 1852 to the present, will be much better able to appreciate the progress which the latter has made, and the amount of good it has accomplished, than they otherwise would be ; but in order to understand them fully it would be necessary to have attended at least two or three annual examinations at each institution, as we have done. We have certainly no disposition to depreciate Columbia College ; it is an institution which has done considerable good in its time ; and no doubt it is destined to do much more ; but it is certainly not equal to the University, either in its classical or scientific department. This comparison we would not have made however, but we think it is important, as showing that wealth alone is not sufficient to maintain the character of a college. Thus, Columbia College has more wealth than any similar institution in this country ; wealth inherited from colonial times. The University, upon the other hand, has no wealth, but simply the moderate compensation it receives for the good it does, together with such aid as the friends of education may feel disposed to give it.

In our opinion, one reason why Columbia is not so successful as its younger rival in producing classical scholars is that it uses unsuitable text books. Prof. Anthon's editions of the classics may be very good for preparatory schools, or for persons desiring to instruct themselves, so far as to secure a smattering of the Latin or Greek ; but they should never be used by any competent instructor, because they are little, if any-

thing better than interlinear translations. The "copious notes," so much boasted of by the editor and his publishers, are in reality translations, for the most part. There are indeed "explanations" also in the editions referred to; but these too, are translations, chiefly from the Delphine notes, the editor taking good care, however, for reasons best known to himself, not to translate "difficult" notes. Thus according to the Anthonian system the students are told far too much about what is plain and simple, but nothing to the purpose of what is obscure or ambiguous. The obvious consequence is that the student takes no interest in the study, so that, although he may graduate easily enough, he leaves college pretty nearly as unfamiliar with the genius and resources of the Latin and Greek as he was when he entered it.

If we had no better representatives in this country of the colleges established by those master educators, the Jesuits, than St. Xavier's in this city, our people would be likely to conclude, either that the characteristic learning and educational talents of the fraternity must have been greatly exaggerated, or otherwise that they have sadly degenerated in our time. But we have representatives enough to maintain the ancient fame, as we shall presently see. In the meantime we have no disposition to make any disparaging remarks on the institution in Fifteenth street; but we cannot help thinking that it is somewhat anomalous in its character. In every country with which we are acquainted, the Roman Catholic clergy enjoy the reputation, among all unprejudiced men, capable of judging, of being thoroughly educated. Some, of course, are not so well educated as others, and again there are some who, although possessed of a good education, have not the faculty of communicating their knowledge to others. Now really, it would seem as if, for some reason or other, those fathers who are thus inferior in learning and talent, were selected for New York. We may be mistaken in this, but if we are, so are several of the most intelligent Roman Catholics of our acquaintance; and they as well as we judge the tree by its fruit; that is, they examine the students of St. Xavier's College, or have them examined by others, and they find their stock of knowledge very limited. In short, the gentlemen to whom we allude, and whose opinions have great weight, as they deserve, among their fellow Catholics, would not admit that the institution under consideration is anything better than an ordinary boys' school, in which the pupils are initiated into a certain course of studies. Further

than this however we have nothing to say against the gentlemen who conduct it. So far as we are aware, their character as clergymen, or ministers of the gospel, is unsullied. We have no charge whatever to make against them; we merely suggest in a friendly spirit, to all whom it may concern, that, in an educational point of view, there is something wrong about St. Xavier's College. Since there is no lack of learned and talented men among the Jesuits, we will take the liberty to ask, why cannot some of that class be spared for New York, as well as for Georgetown, D. C., Worcester, Mass., and one or two other places we could mention?

Before we turn our attention to the latter institutions, we have to give our impression of one or two other New York colleges. We know no institution anywhere that does its work more conscientiously or more thoroughly than Manhattan College. The president or professors of this make no display; they let their works speak for them; and really accomplish more than they promise. The following extract from the Catalogue for 1863-4, will show that they indulge in no rhetoric or bombast, but give a clear and straightforward outline of what they undertake to perform:

"The object of this institution is to afford the youth of our country the means of acquiring the highest grade of education attained in the best American universities or colleges. While its conductors mean that the classic languages shall be thoroughly studied, they have resolved to give a prominence to the higher mathematics and natural sciences not hitherto received in any similar institution in this country: thus combining the advantages of a first class College and Polytechnic Institute.

"Before receiving any degree, the classical student will be required, not only to be able to translate with facility any classic author, whether Greek or Latin, whose style he has studied; he must also be able to express his ideas orally as well as in writing, with more or less fluency, at least in the latter language; whereas the mathematical student seeking similar distinction, must extend his scientific knowledge so as to embrace the differential and integral calculus, together with astronomy, chemistry, &c.

"Nothing will be taught mechanically—nothing learned by rote. In every department the students are practised in criticising each other earnestly and searchingly, but in a friendly spirit. Thus, every point that presents any difficulty, or on which there is any difference of opinion, is freely discussed, and the arguments adduced are required to be as independent of the language of the text-book as possible. By this means the pupil learns to digest what he has studied; he acquires the habit of relying on his own resources, and at the same time attains that self-possession, thoughtful state of mind, which is not only the surest proof of true culture, but the most certain guarantee of success in life, especially in any of the learned professions.

"The Faculty believe that neither the classics nor the mathematics

claim more earnest attention, in order to constitute a sound and practical education, than the vernacular language and literature, and accordingly their study is never intermitted at this institution, but is continued throughout the whole course, in every form which has received the approval of the most experienced and successful educators.

"Besides being carefully instructed in the analytical principles of the language, every student is required, not only to take part in oral discussions on rhetoric, logic, moral philosophy, &c., but he must also write English essays on various subjects, which are, in turn, subjected to the criticisms of the whole class, as well as to those of the professor having charge of that department."

We have copied this all the more cheerfully because we have had opportunities of knowing it to be scrupulously true. In addition to occasional visits which we made to the college during class hours, we were induced to attend the examinations of the last commencement, and were so much interested in what we saw and heard, that, notwithstanding the length of the ride from the city, we attended four consecutive evenings. Nor were we peculiar in this; quite a number of others who take an interest in the cause of education went the same distance night after night. A literary gentleman, eminently competent to judge, who represented one of our leading journals, described the exercises so faithfully, and embodied so many of our own views, that we do not think we can do better on the present occasion than to extract the following passage from his report:

"This was none of those exhibitions so common in our time, whose chief object is to make a display of what has too frequently no real existence; but a series of critical and searching examinations which were continued five successive evenings, in presence of a large and intelligent audience, among whom we observed some of the most eminent and successful educators belonging to other institutions. Not only were those who wished to propose questions cheerfully permitted to do so, but all were requested by the president to test the abilities of the students by any form of examination which they thought proper. Several availed themselves of this privilege, and expressed their surprise and admiration at the results.

"It was difficult to decide whether most proficiency was attained in the classic languages, or in the sciences; for although the university classes in the former department translated difficult passages in various Latin and Greek authors with remarkable facility and accuracy, those of the latter displayed so intelligent a familiarity with the higher mathematics, including the differential and integral calculus, as well as geometry, both plane and spherical, chemistry, &c., that those having most faith in the superiority of the languages, as a means of mental discipline and culture, admitted that their views had been considerably modified by the elaborate and accurate reasoning of the mathematical students.

"The classical authors in which the students acquitted themselves so creditably were the following: Greek, Plutarch, Diodorus Siculus, Apollodorus and Homer; Latin, Livy, Horace, Virgil, Ovid and Cicero.

"Among the test questions in mathematics, proposed by professors from

other colleges, were the following: 1. What should be the inclination of the roof of a building that the water might run off in the least possible time, &c., &c.; 2. To determine the conditions which indicate that any proposed differential is exact; 3. To find the integral of $\frac{x dx}{(1-x^2)^{\frac{3}{2}}}$; 4. To find the test which will indicate that a proposed differential, containing two or more variables, has an exact integral; 5. To find the area enclosed by three equal circles touching externally, whose radius is R, &c., &c.

"All capable of forming an intelligent opinion on the subject, will admit that no higher praise can be conferred on the students than to state the simple fact that they did not fail in a single one of these. Probably none but educators can appreciate how much of the credit thus gained is due to Professors Paulian and Michael, the learned and accomplished gentlemen who have charge of this department. A similar remark would apply to several other members of the faculty, especially to Cornelius O'Leary, M. D., Professor of Ancient Languages, and to Frank Harris, A. B., LL. D., Professor of Natural Sciences.

"Several English essays were read which would do no discredit to professional writers. In short, at no college in this country, of the many whose commencements we have attended from time to time, have we seen such convincing proofs of educational thoroughness as at this institution. Delightfully situated as it is, on the right bank of the Hudson, beside the village of Manhattanville, about eight miles from New York, and under the presidency of Rev. Bro. Patrick, one of the most eminent, successful, and liberal-minded educators in America, it is not to be wondered at that Manhattan College has students of different religious denominations from all parts of this continent."

We have cheerfully made room for these extracts because Manhattan College is a comparatively new institution, which has done an amount of work during the last two or three years that would have been creditable to one a quarter of a century old. Its conductors are trained educators, men who have been carefully selected on both sides of the Atlantic, as well for their long experience in teaching as for their superior learning. The following extract from the programme of the commencement exercises, which embraces the order of proceedings for two days, will give some idea of the manner in which attractiveness and utility are combined with elaborateness and profundity at Manhattan College, so as to elicit the approbation of the advocates of educational systems that are diametrically opposite; although we doubt whether any save those who were present could realize how admirably the students, in general, acquitted themselves throughout the ordeal of "cross-examination."

JUNE 30.

NATIONAL AIRS	College Band.
DECLAMATION	P. B. French, Charles Purdy.
HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY (Ancient)—Egypt, Persia, and Greece,	
	First Preparatory Class.
OVERTURE FROM MARTHA, Flotow (Piano)	J. P. Lyons.

ESSAY—The Influence of Music	Patrick Muldoon.
FRENCH ZOUAVE	Junior Band.
GREEK—HOMER'S Iliad	Fourth Class College.
"ON TO THE FIELD OF GLORY" (Duet), Donizetti, Thomas Lynch, William Lynch.	
"HAIL TO THEE, LIBERTY," Rossini.....	Choir and Orchestra.
GEOMETRY—Books III, IV, V.....	Fourth Class College.
WEDDING MARCH, Mendelssohn.....	College Band.
ESSAY—Irish Literature.....	J. P. Lyons.
LATIN—Livy	Third and Second Classes College.
SCHOTTISCH—Eisele, Beisle; Verdi.....	Orchestra.

JULY 1.

POTPOURRI.....	Junior Band.
ESSAY—Scandinavian Literature	Michael Murphy.
CALCULUS; ASTRONOMY (descriptive)	Second Class College.
SELECTIONS FROM LUCREZIA BORGIA.....	Orchestra.
LATIN—Horace (Satires).....	Third and Second Classes College.
THE GLORIA, by Brother Leonce	Choir and Orchestra.
ESSAY—Maternal Influence.....	J. P. McClaney.
OVERTURE—Nabuchodonosor, Verdi	College Band.

Of St. John's College, Fordham, we do not know much, and therefore, cannot say much. We are assured that it has somewhat improved during the last year, under the auspices of its new president, Rev. Edward Doucet, S. J., who, it is said, understands the characteristics of our American youth much better than his predecessor, who was a Frenchman of the olden time. We are certain, at all events, that the institution is superior in every important respect, to St. Xavier's College, although both institutions—if indeed, one is not simply a branch of the other—are under the direction of the same fraternity. All Jesuits are not alike, however. The Canadian Fathers though respectably educated are vastly inferior, as educators, to those of Europe and the United States. The more intelligent class of our Catholic citizens have an idea that the Canadian dialect of the French language is not quite so classical as even a provincial dialect of France, and there are some of them who think that Canadian Latin is not much better. This may serve to explain why it is that so many New Yorkers send their sons to Georgetown, Worcester, or Manhattanville, rather than to Fifteenth street, or Fordham.

The "Circular and Catalogue of Union College," is one of the most creditable we find on our table. It contains a good deal of reading matter; but very little of the sort of language and style against which we have ventured above to warn our professors. The following passage will serve as a specimen:

"MENTAL AND MORAL SCIENCE.

"The order of instruction pursued in these studies is given in the text

books used: but a wide margin is filled in by Lectures and oral comments, explanations and illustrations. The end sought to be secured is a systematic and not merely elementary or fragmentary apprehension of the subject in hand, each part having its relation to a whole, and its connection and place in the whole being necessary to be apprehended in order to any adequate knowledge of the fact itself. The student is not only examined from the text book, but leading questions are put as the lesson proceeds, designed to bring out his own powers, and to awaken individual thought and independent reflection. The class are all required to write on themes furnished in the order of the course, and given out by the teacher to separate divisions successively. It is made the design of this composition to secure correct and clear thought, expressed distinctly and definitely, and to keep the attention precisely to the point while giving completeness to the whole discussion with less regard in this exercise to rhetorical embellishment. Other authors are referred to as desirable for the student to read as an opportunity may be afforded, and his attention is directed to such as treat on the same or collateral topics. Different views and theories are noticed and examined as the course proceeds, and the whole ground of investigation on the topic in hand is laid open before the class as completely as may be. The constant aim is to cultivate the habit of manly and independent though careful and patient reflection."

If all our professors would thus express their ideas in lucid, simple language, without making any attempts at "fine writing," or trying to give particular words a significance that does not belong to them, there would be far less bombast and bad taste than there is. What denomination Union College belongs to, or whether it belongs to any particular sect, we have not taken the trouble to inquire, for it is none of our business to criticise, one way or other, the theological dogmas taught at any college. The only question with us is, whether an institution of the kind pursues a course which is well or ill calculated to discipline the mind, develop its faculties, store it with useful ideas, and teach it to render those ideas available for the benefit of society, as well as of the individual. The college or university that does this most effectually we hold to be the best, let the religion of its professors be what it may.

Accompanying the catalogue of Brown University we have an interesting "Sketch of the History and present Organization" of that institution. Of the former there is not much to be said in a discursive article of this kind, further than that it contains some of the best names of New England. The number of students is comparatively small, as will appear from the following summary :

Seniors.....	40
Juniors.....	50
Sophomores.....	56
Freshmen.....	56

All catalogues should give a summary of this kind, in addition to the names of the students, so that the reader could see at a glance what amount of patronage is bestowed on the institution; but such is given only in very few. The following extract from the "Sketch" exhibits the circumstances under which the University was originally founded; but before we copy it we will ask both writer and reader, whether it would not have conveyed just as much information, and made quite as strong an impression in favor of the persecuted Baptists of puritanical times, had it not contained more than half as many capitals as it does?

"This Institution, which was founded in 1764, owes its origin to the desire of the Baptists in the American Colonies to secure for members of their denomination a liberal education, without subjection to any sectarian tests. At the suggestion of the Rev. Morgan Edwards, the Pastor of the First Baptist church in Philadelphia, the Philadelphia Baptist Association, in the year 1762, resolved to establish a College in the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, where Roger Williams had first recognized the principle, and enjoyed the blessings of "soul liberty;" and where, "because the legislature was chiefly in the hands of the Baptists, was therefore the likeliest place to have a Baptist College established by law." The Rev. James Manning, a graduate of the College of New Jersey, was commissioned by him to travel through the Northern Colonies, for the purpose of furthering this project.

"In the year 1763, Mr. Manning visited Newport, then the most flourishing commercial town of the Colony of Rhode Island. He was very cordially received by Gardner, the Deputy Governor, and several prominent citizens. The subject he had come to present was not altogether a new one to their minds; for the spirit of religious toleration, and the large and liberal views which had characterized the Colony from its beginning, had already awakened in them the desire of a seminary of learning which should be conducted on the principles Mr. Manning proposed. His visit served to strengthen this desire, and to give definiteness to their purposes and plans.

"In 1764, a charter for the College was obtained from the Legislature of the Colony. Its chief provisions were: the exclusion of all religious tests for applicants for admission, and of all sectarian teachings in the College course; equality of privileges for all Protestant denominations; the choice of Professors without regard to denominational views; and government by a President of Baptist sentiments, and by a Board of Fellows and a Board of Trustees, in which, though the Baptists were to have the predominance, other denominations in the colony were to be fairly represented. Of the twelve Fellows, eight, including the President, were to be Baptists; and of the thirty-six Trustees, twenty-two were to be Baptists; five, Friends; four, Congregationalists; and five, Episcopalians. The corporate name of the Institution was to be, "The College or University in the English Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in New England, in America," until it should be honored with that of some eminent benefactor—an anticipation in due time happily fulfilled."

In turning from the Baptists of Rhode Island to the Jesuits of Georgetown, D. C., we are reminded of the adage,

that extremes meet ; but with all our impartiality or rather on account of our impartiality, we must say that the Jesuits are now, and always have been, more accomplished and more successful educators than the Baptists. We are very willing to believe the general report that Brown University has improved considerably under the presidency of Rev. Barnas Sears, D D., LL.D., but in our opinion it will have to improve a good deal more before it equals Georgetown College, as a literary institution ; and we have taken pleasure in visiting the former as well as the latter. Georgetown College impressed us so highly by its superiority, both in its classical and scientific departments, to most other colleges in this country which we have visited, that we resolved nearly a year ago to devote a whole paper to an account of its system, the means by which that system is carried out, and its general results. We do not pretend, therefore, to do it justice in the brief passage we can devote to it in the present article. From the National Intelligencer's report of the lectures on chemistry delivered at the close of the last term, two days before the commencement exercises, we extract a paragraph or two, merely premising that where most appreciative, they fully accord with what we have ourselves heard and seen at Georgetown College during a brief visit to the institution :

"The first lecture, on the 'Phenomenon of Combustion,' was given by Mr. Edward S. Reily, assisted by Messrs. Thomas S. Rudd and Henry Major, Jr. The lecture was delivered in an easy and familiar style, with an evident command of the subject, and illustrated successfully with a great number of experiments, some of them very beautiful. The qualities and characteristics of oxygen, hydrogen, nitrogen, carbonic acid, &c., especially in connection with combustion, were demonstrated by actual experiments with the several gases. The nature of their combination in the atmosphere was developed and explained. Experiments were also made with the oxy-hydrogen blow-pipe. The analogy between respiration and combustion was not only clearly shown, but the lucid explanation afforded of the great schemes of nature in employing the respiration of men and animals for the maintenance of vegetable life, could not fail to awaken a reverent appreciation of the providence of God over his works. In order to exhibit the effects of light and combustion to greater advantage, the large hall was so arranged that it could be darkened in a moment, and light readmitted immediately after the particular experiment. Besides a number of other brilliant effects, the Drummond light was thus displayed to great advantage.

"The second lecture, on the 'Correlation of Physical Forces,' was given by Mr. R. Ross Perry, assisted by Messrs. F. C. Zegarra and James P. McElroy. The object of this lecture was to prove the intimate relation existing between the forces of chemical affinity, electricity, light, heat, and magnetism.

"Mr. Perry showed the same aptness and readiness which had been displayed by his predecessor, and was no less successful in the large number of experiments comprehended in his lecture. The most beautiful

experiments performed were those in which the aid of a powerful voltaic battery was called in, the wires of which were conducted to the table of the lecturer. By means of this battery the magnificent electric light, only two and a half times less than that of the sun, was exhibited. The image of the carbon electrodes projected upon a screen was a particularly beautiful spectacle. In this, as well as in the preceding lecture, the burning of various metals by the processes severally employed, was highly interesting. The electric light under water, and the same light in connection with a descending column of water, made to reflect the various hues placed in the spectrum, produced a unique effect. The same may be said of the experiments made with Geissler's tubes, a beautiful variety of which Prof. Varsi uses, imported from Bonn, Germany, where exists the only manufacture of these instruments in the world."

Great attention is devoted to the sciences in general at this institution. The following extract from the catalogue describes one of the best observatories and most excellent instruments we have seen anywhere:

"Attached to the college, at the distance of about 400 yards, is an Astronomical Observatory, sixty-feet long and thirty feet wide, divided from east to west into three rooms. The eastern room contains a first-class Meridian-Circle, by Troughton & Simms, of London. The divided arc of the circle has a diameter of 45 inches, *reading* by microscopes to fractions of a second of arc. The telescope has a 4-inch glass. A fine sidereal clock, by Molyneux, of London, accompanies this instrument. In the western room is mounted a fine Transit-Instrument, by Ertel & Son, of Munich. It is seven feet long, and has a $4\frac{1}{2}$ -inch object-glass. There is in the same room a sidereal clock. The middle part of the Observatory is three stories high, and covered with a rotary dome. The dome room contains a well mounted Equatorial Telescope, made by Troughton & Simms. This instrument has a $4\frac{5}{8}$ -inch object-glass, giving powers from twenty-five to four hundred. Besides the above, there are five portable astronomical instruments, and a library of five hundred choice works on Astronomy, Mathematics, and the Physical Sciences."

At the last commencement the degree of A. M. was conferred on four students, and the degree of A. B. on eight students. The same degree was also conferred on five students from the College of the Holy Cross, Worcester, Mass. Our readers are aware that the latter institution, although confessedly one of the most excellent in this country, has no charter. Hence it is that its students have to get their degrees from Georgetown. Those who have read the article in our last number on the Holy Cross, need not be informed that if the institution had been treated according to its merits it would have had a charter long since. Suffice it to remark now, in passing, that it is not very creditable to the liberality or intelligence of the legislature of Massachusetts, that young men, thoroughly educated in one of her colleges, should have to depend even on so celebrated an institution as that at Georgetown, for academic honors.

We are here reminded of Harvard University, whose Catalogue lies before us. The latter is got up in decent style, although not altogether free from the prevailing tendency of making the force and expressiveness of the Anglo-Saxon dialect depend on the size and form of particular letters. If others had not transgressed to a much greater extent, however, we should not have deemed it necessary to have said so much on the subject as we have. In other respects Harvard seems to maintain its reputation as occupying the first rank among American colleges; and yet we cannot help thinking that it might have done much better work during the last five or six years, had its professors occupied less of their time in the business of writing essays in praise of each other. A society of mutual admiration is a very agreeable thing for the members thereof, but if it concerns itself too much with self, the outside world is apt to become disgusted, even if there are no salaries which ought to be earned in some decent way, and not regarded as those accruing from sinecures. We cheerfully admit that in general the professors at Harvard are well qualified for the chairs they fill; but there is at least one glaring exception. We have no doubt, for example, that there are positions in the college which Prof. James Russell Lowell could fill with credit to himself; but we hold that he is entirely out of place in the chair of "the French and Spanish languages and literatures." Surely Harvard ought to be able to afford a native teacher for each of those languages. She ought at least to afford one who is perfectly familiar with the genius of each. But can this be said of Prof. Lowell? We were once present at one of his lectures on French, to the students of that class; and we confess, that although it was a very serious affair, we had considerable difficulty in preserving our gravity until it was over. As the professor proceeded from one specimen of his French to another, we found it difficult to realize that we were really within the precincts of the institution claimed to be the best in the United States, and not in some country academy, where the professor took lessons himself, one day, in order that he might be able to give lessons to his pupils the next. In short, never before were we so forcibly reminded of the song of old Puck:

"My skill as a linguist all must know,
Who met me abroad some months ago;
(And heard me *abroad* exceeding y, too),
In the moods and tenses of *parlez vous*.
When, as old Chambaud's shade stood mute,
I spoke such French to the Institute
As puzzled those *Learned Thebanos much*
To know if 'twas *Sincerst* or *High Dutch*."

The catalogue of Yale College is slightly flashy. Portions of it read as if they were some of the earlier compositions of an ambitious member of the freshman class. If we are wrong in this let the following extract bear testimony against us, and vindicate the taste of "Old Yale":

"In *Dogmatic or Didactic Theology* the course of instruction begins, in the first term of the Junior year, with readings in *Logic*, under the direction of the Professor. In the second term, Lectures are given on special topics in *Psychology* and speculative Philosophy; and in the third term, Lectures,—with analysis of authors,—on the *Will*, the *Moral Faculty* and the *Conceptions* which are fundamental to *Ethics*. In the first term of the *Middle year*, Lectures are given on *Natural Theology*; the conception and proof of the *Moral Government* of God as apprehended by the *Human Conscience* under the light of *Nature*; the *Nature* and *Evidences* of *Revealed Religion*; and the *Authority* and *Inspiration* of the *Scriptures*; and, in the second and third terms, Lectures,—with analysis of authors and opinions,—on the various topics that are appropriate to *Biblical Theology* as exhibited in a *Theological system*.

The course of instruction in *Church History* begins at the commencement of the *Middle year*, and continues to the end of the *Senior year*. In the *Middle year*, Lectures are delivered on the following topics: A *Historical survey* of the *Old or Preparatory Dispensation* in its relation to *Christianity*; the spread of *Christianity* (including *Missions* and *Persecutions*); *Eccelesiastical Polity* (including the *Rise and Rule of the Papacy*); and the *History* of *Christian Life and Worship*. In the *Senior year*, an extended series of Lectures is given upon the *History* of *Christian Doctrine*, together with a brief course upon *Symbolical Theology*.

We think it will be admitted that a good deal of this is "symbolical," nearly as much so as a wooden nutmeg. It is otherwise, however, with the following, which is matter-of-fact and business like, and at the same time somewhat suggestive of "growing rich by degrees":

"**BACHELOR OF ARTS.**—The Degree of Bachelor of Arts is conferred on those persons who have completed the course of academical exercises, as appointed by law, and have been approved on examination at the end of the course as candidates for the same. *Candidates for this degree are required to pay their dues to the Treasurer as early as the Monday before Commencement.*

"**MASTER OF ARTS.**—Every Bachelor of Arts of three years' or longer standing may receive the Degree of Master of Arts on payment of five dollars, provided he shall in the interval, have sustained a good moral character."

We are willing to believe, that although the dollars may have some influence in securing degrees, that the students who get them must also possess a certain amount of knowledge. In other words, we do not mean to condemn Yale College because in our opinion the language and style of its catalogue are not what they ought to be. We merely criticise what we think is at least injudicious; and our object in doing so,

is certainly not to give pain to any one, but to remind all who claim to be instructors of the first class, that when they address the public they ought to express themselves in a style somewhat compatible with the character they assume, since if they do not many will be ill-natured enough to judge the tree by its fruit.

From Bowdoin College we have two catalogues dated 1864, one in the vernacular tongue, and the other in Latin. In this as in several other instances, the compiler has been careful not to indulge in very extensive observations. In the English catalogue there are four pages of details, in addition to the names, but in the Latin catalogue there is not a page at all, or a sentence, but all names! We think the learned editor might at least have ventured to inform us in the language he adopts for the occasion that his "Catalogus" is a general one. He has all the names in Latin, or rather as many of them as he knew how to find Latin names for; but nothing more. At the end he has had occasion to express two or three ideas, in as many sentences, but he has availed himself of the vernacular to do so. Now, is not this way of getting up a catalogue rather puerile? If a college professor wishes to publish a Latin catalogue he has a perfect right to do so; but if he has to fall back on the vernacular in making the simplest remark, it seems to us that he ought to confine himself to the vernacular.

One of the best catalogues we have received, so far as those pamphlets can be regarded as affording evidence of taste and culture, is that entitled, "Catalogue, Register and Prospectus of the Broad Street Academy for Boys, Philadelphia, for the scholastic year 1864, Edward Roth, A. M., Principal." We have no acquaintance with Mr. Roth; we knew nothing of his academy before we had seen his catalogue; but we find sufficient in the latter to satisfy us that its author is an accomplished educator. To this it is pleasant to add that it would seem that the public appreciates him accordingly, as far as it has had an opportunity of judging of his qualifications, for his seminary has been but one year in existence, and he has already more than sixty students. This is as it ought to be; talent and ability should be rewarded. We had marked several passages in the address of the principal, as well as in his prospectus; but our limited space constrains us to overlook the former for the present, and confine ourselves to an extract from the latter. In the following remarks there is no flourish, no display of tinsel, no effort to palm off mere sound and size for sense:

"For teaching—that is literary and scientific teaching—is essentially different from every other profession, except the clerical and the medical, which it somewhat resembles. As a money-making profession, it is the lowest on the list. It cannot be otherwise, for it starts with an object totally different. Contrast, for a moment, the teacher with the merchant. The ability of the latter is shown by his skill in buying cheap and selling dear; of the former, by his skill in manipulating the tender human mind. The most successful merchant is he who has made the most money, though he may have lived a dunce; the most successful teacher is he who has made the best scholars, though he may die a beggar. The more money the one has made, the more easily he increases his store; the better the scholars the other has made, the more difficult and expensive becomes their further advancement—they require more learned professors and more costly apparatus. For there is no short cut to learning. By improvements in machinery, manufacturers are enabled to diminish labor, and to make their work more perfect; but the human mind is beyond the reach of mechanics—it is as difficult to be educated now as it was three thousand years ago. Nothing but labor on the part of the pupil, and patient but skillful drudgery on the part of the teacher, can accomplish the task. But men of talent, with industry enough to acquire sufficient knowledge to become distinguished teachers, easily finding more congenial pursuits elsewhere, skillful teachers are scarce, and by the law of supply and demand, must be well paid when found. Hence, education of a high order can never be got cheaply. No Professor Holloway can ever make money by supplying the million with the genuine article. This truth does not seem to be generally known.

"The community at large seldom remember that since the beginning of civilization, no general school established on systematic principles—that is, one where the study of general knowledge is pursued as far as the calibre of even ordinary minds permits—has been self-supporting. Such schools have always required the aid of endowment, or some other adventitious advantage. While elementary schools and specialty schools have continued to flourish, and accomplishment schools have proved highly remunerative, no school, undertaking to teach thoroughly the ordinary circle of human knowledge, has been able to sustain itself. The 'ornamental,' rather than the 'useful' element, enables most of our 'young ladies' schools' to live, and some even to make money. Some of our Catholic 'Colleges' succeed, partly because they try to combine the 'elementary' and the 'university' principles together, but mainly, because the professors are generally unsalaried ecclesiastics."

We had intended to devote a portion of this article to female universities, colleges, academies, &c., but we find that there are scores even of the male species which we cannot as much as mention. We shall not forget the ladies, however. In the meantime, we hope to see them improve, and set an example to the gentlemen in chasteness of style, as they always do in chasteness of behavior, &c.

ART. VIII.—*Annual Report of the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York; for the year ending December 31, 1863.*

AMONG the many theories the fallaciousness of which has been exposed by the present war, perhaps the most important is that of supposing that a large number of emigrants of the illiterate, working class have a tendency to injure the country in which they settle. It is true that none having any knowledge of political economy—indeed no really intelligent person—have ever entertained any such theory. This fact is not the less true because the theory referred to formed the basis of the Know Nothing party, for the members of that party were the least intelligent and most thoughtless of the community. Finding that the name they assumed at the beginning described them but too faithfully, they adopted that of the “American Party”; although they certainly had no right to the latter. The party was never any further American than that it was opposed to foreigners becoming American citizens, especially if the foreigners were Roman Catholics. In short, it was much more religious, or rather fanatical, than political; religious intolerance, and not patriotism, formed its foundation stone; and it is but justice to our country to say that the former is not an American characteristic.

Strange though it may appear, it is not the less true that the Know Nothing party was originated by foreigners, by English, Irish, and Scotch, who, if they did not belong nominally at home to the Orange party, were nevertheless orangemen at heart in all that constitutes intolerance and bigotry. In time they induced large numbers of Americans of a certain class to join them; and no sooner did certain politicians find that they were numerically strong than they came forward as the champions of their cause. For a time they seemed all-powerful, capable of setting all opposition at defiance; but thinking men knew that their reign would be brief. Accordingly no other party that has ever existed in any country has afforded a more striking illustration of the adage that all false pretences soon fall to the ground. After one year it had scarcely any vitality left: in a year and a half it had become utterly extinct. But our object in this article is not to write the history of Know Nothingism; nor do we care to write its epitaph. We merely allude in passing to the party and its fate as a warning to the thoughtless and

intolerant, and as a proof that nothing can endure which has not more or less truth for its basis.

In the observations which we are about to make in vindication of a particular class, we shall not be actuated by any prejudice; our only object will be to do justice to those who, we think, have been wronged. In a word, we merely wish to pursue in this case the same course we do in reference to the Hindoos, the Poles, the Hungarians, or any other people who, in our opinion, have suffered injustice and wrong. In any discussion of the kind we never inquire what is the religion of the injured party, any further than we find it to have more or less influence on the treatment they receive. But if, while believing that large numbers even of Pagan emigrants, contribute to the wealth and importance of the country in which they settle, we should also believe that a similar accession of Roman Catholic emigrants would be injurious rather than beneficial, we should regard ourselves as very absurd indeed. Such a course would show that if we have paid any attention to the history of the last eighteen hundred years, we have done so in vain; we have derived no profit from its teachings, but have closed our eyes to its plainest and most obvious lessons. Yet this was precisely the doctrine of the Know Nothing party, to whom the Pagan Chinese were welcome, the Mormons were welcome, the Millerites were welcome—all save the Roman Catholics, those who adhere to the most ancient form of Christianity.

The latter were to be excluded, as much as possible, on the ground that they were inimical to republicanism. It was easy for any intelligent person to prove that there was no foundation for this statement. We had before us the examples of all the states of South America to show that the inhabitants of those states were not the less disposed to throw off the yoke of Spain or Portugal because they were Catholics. Nor was it alone the Catholic laity that evinced this readiness to set aside monarchy and adopt republicanism, because they believed the latter preferable to the former; in every instance they were headed by their priests in their efforts to establish their independence. Those who have read our articles on Mexico, Brazil, and Peru, or any impartial account of the revolutions that have taken place in those states, may remember how many of the most pious clergymen of the Catholic church died on the scaffold for their devotion to the principle of self-government. This is particularly true of the clergy of Mexico, where every insurrection of any importance against the power of Spain was headed by ecclesiastics.

The history of Europe abounds with similar evidence of the readiness of the Roman Catholic priests to aid in any movement, fearless of danger, which they believe to have for its object the amelioration of the condition of the masses. Neither Poland nor Hungary has attempted any revolution, which seemed likely to be successful, in which the priests did not take a prominent part.

Of all nations of continental Europe the Belgians enjoy most liberty; nowhere else, not even in England, can one express himself more freely or more independently, whether with pen or tongue, than in Belgium, although it is more Catholic than either France or Ireland. And more than once the Catholic Belgians have shown that it is by no mere accident they enjoy this freedom. When their country was united to Holland under one king, after the fall of Napoleon, they felt that infringements had been made on their liberties, and that they did not enjoy equal rights with the Hollanders; they solemnly resolved not to submit to this, and they fully and promptly carried out their resolution.

We will here pause to state a few historical facts which would be sufficient by themselves to show how absurd is the charge that to be a Roman Catholic is to be in favor of despotism, and opposed to representative government. As already observed, Belgium and Holland were combined in 1815 to form the kingdom of the Netherlands. The Belgians soon found that their taxes were much increased, and they made remonstrances to the king against the increase. The Hollanders were equally taxed, but made no complaint. This difference determined the conduct of the king towards the two peoples. In order that he might punish the refractory Belgians all the more easily, he abolished trial by jury, for which they had been indebted to the French; he also took into his own hands the whole machinery of education, public and private, so that a teacher, male or female, could not teach even in a private family without procuring a license to do so and paying for the privilege. In a similar spirit he removed all the courts of law to the Hague, and caused them to carry on their proceedings exclusively in the Dutch language. Then, as a matter of course, all the Belgian judges, magistrates, and others holding official positions, who were not acquainted with the Dutch language, had to give up their places. It was in vain the Belgian press protested against all this; editors were arrested, fined and incarcerated, or banished, for warning the king against the consequences of his usurpations.

While William I. was thus treating the Belgians as if they were little better than slaves, he saw Charles X. expelled from France, for conduct far less oppressive than his own ; but he learned no lesson from it. Finally, on the 25th of August, 1830, the citizens of Brussels rose in open insurrection, expelled the royal troops, and made themselves complete masters of the city. In three days all that remained to the king in the whole territory of Belgium was the citadel of Antwerp, one of the strongest fortresses in Europe. So evident was it to all the great powers that the king of Holland had lost Belgium, that Russia, Prussia, Austria, France and Great Britain unanimously acquiesced in the new state of things, and permitted the Belgians to establish an independent limited monarchy under the title of the Kingdom of Belgium.

Thus, we see the Protestant Hollanders submitting quietly to despotism, while the Belgian Catholics set it at defiance and establish their independence. And that religious prejudice had nothing to do with their revolt is sufficiently evident, from the fact that the prince whom they accepted as their king, and under whose auspices they have lived in peace and prosperity to the present day, is not a Catholic, but a Lutheran Protestant.

We have not adduced these facts to show that one sect is braver, more patriotic, or more tenacious of their liberties than another, but rather, on the contrary, to show the absurdity of any such doctrine. We believe that if the Belgians had been Protestants, they would have vindicated their rights just as well as they did. On the same ground we claim that the Catholic Irish coming to this country are quite as brave, as faithful to their adopted country, and as willing to sacrifice their lives for it, as they could be if they were all Lutherans, or Calvinists who had never entered a Roman Catholic church.

But let us now look nearer home, and ask, Have the Irish fought the less bravely during the last three years in defence of the Union on account of their being Catholics? Have any Protestants, native or foreign, fought better than they? It would be superfluous to answer any of these questions. Those who had been most opposed to the Catholic Irish, have been forced to admit that none have done more glorious work, that none have proved themselves more faithful, and that no clergymen of any sect have done more than the Catholic priests to inspire their people to deeds of valor.

It was a favorite habit with the Know Nothing party to institute comparisons between the Germans and the Irish, in which the superiority of the former was maintained on various grounds. We were assured in a thousand forms how implicitly they could be relied upon in the event of any danger threatening our country; whereas the probability was, they thought, that the Irish would rather aid in crushing the Republic than in saving it. On no occasion have we ever spoken disparagingly of the Germans; on the contrary, we have often bestowed the fullest meed of praise on their many excellent qualities. At the same time we have never admitted, but, on the contrary, have always denied, that they make more loyal citizens than the Irish, or that they would sacrifice their lives more readily than the latter in defence of their adopted country. We well remember to have heard some of our Know Nothing politicians make such remarks as the following: "If our country were in danger to-morrow, we could get thousands of men from Germany to aid us for every half-dozen we could get from Ireland. For every one Protestant German that comes now there would come twenty then; but for every twenty Catholic Irishmen who come now, when we don't want them, or when we would much rather they would stay at home, we would not get one in the hour of our need."

It is needless to remark that they were credulous people who believed this—people that had made but little use of their reason. Had they been otherwise they would have come to the opposite conclusion (as indeed all did who were capable of forming any opinion of the future from the past), and time would have proved that they were right.

The statistics, both of Great Britain and the United States, show that as soon as the Irish found that there would be no welcome for them in this country, there was a considerable and immediate falling off in the quarterly and annual number of emigrants coming from Ireland; and we see from the same data that as soon as they found again that this feeling had passed away, and that all who could come were wanted to fight for the preservation of the Republic, they began to come again in larger numbers than ever. Thus let us see, for example, what is the state of facts in regard to the past year. From the Annual Report of the Commissioners of Emigration, now before us, we take the following extract:

"The year 1863, being the seventeenth of the operation of the system under the charge of the Commission, was marked by a large increase of

the emigration to this port, being *more than double* that of 1861. It was also marked by the same *general improvement in the health and condition of the emigrants*, as compared with the earlier years of this Commission, which the Commissioners have had the satisfaction to report for the last three years. There was consequently a diminished number, in proportion to the whole number who arrived, *who required medical or other immediate relief upon or soon after their arrival.*

"The chief exceptions to the ordinary good state of the health and condition of the emigrants arise from diseases contracted on shipboard, which are *in no way to be attributed to the condition of the passengers on their embarkation.*"

"The whole number of emigrants at this port was 80,538 *more than in the year preceding.*"—p. 3.

Now, whence did this great increase come? Was it from Germany? Let the following extract from the same Report answer:

"The whole number of passengers landed at this port during the year 1863, was 194,377. Of these, 37,533 were citizens, or persons not subject to bonds or commutation; and 156,844 were aliens, *for whom commutation was paid or bonds executed*, showing an increase in alien emigrants of 80,538 over 1862, 91,315 over 1861, 51,682 over 1860, 77,522 over 1859, 78,255 over 1858, and 26,929 less than 1857; whilst the proportion to the average of former years, since 1847, is 8,665 less.

"Of these emigrants, 92,157 were *from Ireland*, 35,002 from Germany, 18,757 from England, and 10,928 from other countries."

Thus, we see that nearly three times as many came from Ireland during the past year, when they were most needed, as from Germany—*considerably more than from all other countries, including Germany.* That is, Ireland alone has sent us more emigrants within the past year *than all the world besides.* From the same extract we see that the increase is composed of a stronger, healthier, and more independent class than those that usually came in time of peace.

There is one other passage in the Report which is worth quoting; it shows that far from losing by so large an increase of emigrants, even before they had time to perform any kind of labor, they paid us no inconsiderable amount of cash:

"COMMUTATION FUND—1863.

Amount received for Commutation of Bonds under the laws of April 11, 1849, and April 13, 1853.

January, commutation money,	.	.	.	\$6,136 00
February, " "	.	.	.	3,178 00
March, " "	.	.	.	9,908 00
April, " "	.	.	.	25,618 00
May, " "	.	.	.	47,698 00
Carried forward	.	.	.	\$92,538 00

	Brought forward	.	.	.	\$92,538 00
June, commutation money		.	.	.	48,128 00
July,	"	"	.	.	37,330 00
August,	"	"	.	.	30,746 00
September,	"	"	.	.	24,728 00
October,	"	"	.	.	32,406 00
November,	"	"	.	.	25,074 00
December,	"	"	.	.	22,140 00
					<hr/> \$313,090 00
Amount received for compromise of special bonds,					\$6,248 26
From emigrants, being amount refunded by them					
for advances made for their transportation					
to the interior, and to Europe,					2,042 74
From Irish Emigrant Society, refunded for for-					
warding emigrants to destination,					1,623 49
Licenses granted to emigrant runners,					560 00" (p. 36.)

The arrivals at Boston and Philadelphia exhibit a similar increase as compared to former years, together with a similar disproportion in the nationalities of the emigrants, the Irish in each case numbering as much as all others put together. And who will deny, that if the muster rolls of our armies be examined, the Irish will be found equally in the majority in the service of the United States, above all other foreigners. At least nine-tenths of the Irish in the land and marine forces of the United States are Catholics; but we ask again, are they the less brave, or the less faithful on this account?

The truth is, that no American war was necessary to vindicate the Catholic Irish from the charge of want of fidelity, in the day of battle, to the flag which they undertook to defend. However much they disliked England for the wrongs she had inflicted on their country, they had always fought bravely in her armies. Nor did it make any difference as to what was the religion of the enemy against whom they were brought. We have the testimony of Wellington, and of many other general officers engaged in the wars of Napoleon, that no other troops fought better against Catholic France than those which consisted exclusively of Catholic Irish.

To this we need only add a few observations on emigration in the abstract. It is a great mistake that emigration implies anything that is derogatory, either to the emigrants themselves, or to the race to which they belong; although it is frequently discreditable to the government from whose allegiance the emigrants have withdrawn, as in those instances in which persons emigrate for the purpose of escaping from oppression. Inhabitants of the greatest nations have emigrated from the earliest records, for various reasons; we

find instances so far back as the time of the patriarchs. Thus, we are told in Genesis that the herds of Abraham and Lot had so greatly increased, that because there was not sufficient room for both, the servants of the two patriarchs used to quarrel about their respective flocks, so that finally Abraham said to Lot: "Is not the whole land before thee? Separate thyself, I pray thee, from me. If thou wilt take the left hand, then I will go to the right; or if thou depart to the right hand, then I will go to the left. Then Lot chose him all the plain of Jordan, and Lot journeyed east; and they separated themselves the one from the other."*

The weaker and less intellectual races of mankind have never emigrated to any considerable distance. This is true, for example, of the negroes, who have never ventured beyond the place of their birth, except on some predatory excursion among a neighboring tribe of their own race. Upon the other hand, all the vigorous, intellectual races have emigrated in large numbers when they thought they could improve their condition by doing so.

The Egyptians, even of the present day, have a tradition that their ancestors owed their chief greatness to emigrants from different countries; that it was these emigrants who introduced not only the Cyclopean style of architecture, of which we have such magnificent specimens in the pyramids, but also their system of religion—their gods and goddesses, including Isis and Osiris. We are told that the Egyptians in turn established colonies in Greece, Colchis, Assyria, and even in India; and we have all some idea of the high degree of civilization attained in each country.

The Phœnicians were the most enterprising people of their time, although they could hardly be said to have a country at all, their whole territory consisting of a few cities, the principal of which were Tyre and Sidon. They extended their commerce to all parts of the ancient world; and among the many great colonies which they established was Carthage, which for so many ages was the rival of the Roman Empire.

That the Greeks also emigrated in large numbers, every student of history is aware. Their descendants are to be found at this day in various parts of Asia, especially in Asia Minor; and they are easily distinguished from the less intellectual and less vigorous races among whom they settled.

So large had been the emigration from Greece to that part of Italy now known as the kingdom of Naples, that all the historians of the time gave it the name of *Magna Grecia*.

In former times none were more respected or made more welcome in any country than emigrants. Some of the finest episodes both in Homer and Virgil are founded on this feeling. Doubtless the few Phœnicians, who first settled in the place afterwards called Carthage, were as poor and perhaps as insignificant as many who have settled on our western prairies, and laid the foundation of cities which have already become populous and flourishing; but this has not prevented Virgil from adorning his majestic poem with the beautiful and touching story of Dido.

In the times of old which we now call "barbarous," emigrants received kind treatment and sympathy in proportion as they were known to have suffered at home from oppression, invasion, or any other cause; but the question at the present day is, not whether emigrants were driven to our shores by oppression, by poverty, by love for our institutions, or all combined; but whether they are enlightened and polished in their manners, or whether their religion is different from our own. It is well known, for example, that the Irish laborers who are unable to pay their passage to this country, go to England annually to earn a few shillings, reaping the harvest; yet when they finally succeed in reaching our shores, we denounce them as lazy, indolent, or "priest-ridden," because they are illiterate and poor. Even our servant maids, who in general belong to the very poorest class of the Irish peasantry, we make a source of reproach to the country whence they came, because they do not know what they had never an opportunity of learning.

All this is wrong; we ought to be more thoughtful and considerate. We should bear in mind that there is a certain depth of poverty and misery which is inconsistent with intelligence; and which it is not in the power of the ministers of any religion entirely to counteract. It would be much more logical on our part, as well as more sensible and more humane, to make allowance for the faults of both male and female of the class referred to, and do justice to those many good qualities which even their enemies have never denied them. We presume it is needless for us to add that we do not attribute this narrow-mindedness, thoughtlessness, and intolerance to all our people, or to any but the class who form such parties as that of the Know Nothings, whose career was inglorious as it was brief.

ART. IX.—NOTICES AND CRITICISMS.

PHILOSOPHY AND SCIENCE.

Man and his Relations; illustrating the Influence of the Mind on the Body, &c. By S. B. BRITTAN, M. D. 8vo., pp. 578. New York: W. A. Townsend, 1864.

PROFESSOR BRITTAN is undoubtedly an original thinker, and a profound student. It is he who was chiefly instrumental in giving spiritualism whatever vitality it has possessed in this country. As editor of the *Shekinah* and *Spiritual Telegraph* he has exercised a wide and powerful influence; still more, perhaps, has he accomplished for the same cause by his lectures, for there are few public speakers more eloquent, or who possess in a higher degree the faculty at once of fascinating and convincing his audience.

But it is not on account of what he has done for spiritualism that we regard Professor Brittan as a man of superior intellect, but rather in spite of what he has done for it. We have always considered his fine talents as thrown away on speculations which have a tendency to encourage the superstitions of the vulgar. It is true that he has never descended to the petty tricks of tipping and moving tables, and the various other vulgar expedients which the charlatans have recourse to in order to make money; but even the more intellectual branch of the system—that to which he has exclusively been devoted—is unworthy of him.

None know better than Professor Brittan that ghost stories are nothing new; they have been known in all ages, but believed in no age, save by the credulous and thoughtless. Assuming that all the tipping that has taken place within the last seven years; that the whole phenomena, said to belong to spiritualism, are really the work of ghosts and hobgoblins, even then the question would arise, *Cui bono?* Who is to be the better for them? What evil that man is heir to can they remove? What conceivable good have they done? Have they not done much more harm? If it be not true that spiritualism has driven hundreds to the lunatic asylum, and caused scores to commit suicide, it is true that it has made no one better or wiser than it found him.

But the portly and well filled volume before us is not a treatise on spiritualism. It has a much higher and nobler object—namely, to illustrate the nature of the soul and its influence on the body. If we understand the author, all his reasoning tends to this point. However numerous and various are the names which we give to the attributes of the soul, or to its different modes of acting; whether we call them, as our author does, psychological hallucinations, magnetism, psychometric perception, mental tele-

graphing, &c., &c., they all mean something which is beyond the comprehension of man. It is not the less true, however, on this account that it is not only interesting, but instructive to examine all and observe their influence on each other, as well as their combined influence on our physical powers, and consequently on our destiny. This our author has done to a considerable extent; and he has placed before us a mass of facts which cannot be contemplated without wonder, however much we may differ with him as to the nature of those facts. In other words, he has presented us with a large variety of curious phenomena, and he has so introduced each, that we cannot help taking an interest in it. Thus, in describing the influence of the passions on the secretions, our author remarks:

"It must be sufficiently obvious to every observer of vital phenomena, that the passions act directly on the nervous forces, or the animal electricity of the body; and hence all the delicate and mysterious processes of secretion must be immediately and powerfully influenced by the passions. But of their specific relations to such electro-chemical changes, I cannot treat at greater length; nor would the larger number of my readers be likely to be interested in the minute details of the subject. I will, however, further suggest, by a brief and imperfect statement, some of the more obvious effects of the passions on the secretions.

"Jealousy, by its tendency to increase the biliary secretion, is liable to overburden the hepatic duct and its tributaries; grief so acts on the lachrymal gland, that tears are secreted and profusely discharged; while excessive joy, and other strong mental emotions, sometimes produce the same or similar effects. The functions of the skin are often strongly influenced by the passions. In this manner the insensible exhalations from the body are increased and diminished. Profuse perspiration sometimes accompanies or succeeds violent mental emotions. The urinary secretion is thus varied in quantity, and, doubtless, in its chemical constituents, by the influence of the passions on the electrical forces that determine all the changes in the subtle chemistry of the living body. It is a well known fact that the misdirected action or improper excitement of the mind, immediately after parturition, has resulted in the sudden suppression of the lochia, and a repulsion of the lacteous secretion from the breasts. Indeed such is the power of the passions to produce electro-chemical effects, in this direction, that a sudden fit of anger in the mother has produced violent spasms in the child at her bosom."—pp. 79, 80.

No one who understands the subject will question the truth of this. In considering the mind as a destructive agent, our author is equally forcible and truthful. Instance the following passage:

"Physicians and others often speak of those who merely *fancy* or *imagine* that they are ill. If they mean that physical disease, in such cases, originates in the disordered action of the mind, the writer has already expressed his concurrence; but if, on the contrary, such forms of expression are intended to imply that the disease, in all similar examples, *has only an imaginary existence*, I must dispute the assumption, because the most terrible forms of *vital* derangement are induced in this manner, and even death suddenly evoked by the action of the Mind. Many a business man has been prostrated by a violent nervous or bilious attack, in consequence of having his note protested. The rates of exchange often influence the appetite, while a rapid decline in the price of stocks may occasion a loss of flesh, or have something to do with a chronic diarrhoea. Large payments, especially when money is worth 'two per cent. a month,' have a tendency to relax the system, while 'bank credits' and 'bills receivable' possess wonderful tonic properties."—p. 87.

Professor Brittan does not confine himself to the discussion of abstract phenomena; he also treats social problems with fearless earnestness. The prevalence of infanticide at the present day, against which the laws are so powerless, is recognized in all its revolting hideousness, as follows:

"Under the influence of our corrupt civilization the propagation of the species is so rapid, that extreme poverty becomes the common inheritance of millions. Among the poor and laboring people the population increases with the greatest rapidity. This is not, of course, to be mainly ascribed to the superior strength of their vital energies and animal passions; nor, on the other hand, chiefly to the enervating influence of a life of indolent pleasure and luxurious indulgence, on the part of the wealthier classes. It does not require the vision of a seer to enable the discerning mind to suggest other sufficient reasons for this difference, the particular elucidation of which may not be appropriate in this place. Suffice it to say, thousands of embryotic forms of humanity are every year destroyed by professional men and methods. Multitudes thus perish in secret which no man can number. Precisely where Nature develops the germs of new life, and God unfolds immortal entities, they find their sepulchers. If the poor are not restrained, in this respect, by reason and conscience, they may be by their ignorance of such destructive arts as have prevailed among the more polished, fashionable, and affluent circles. Those who possess wealth and influence, but whose false or superficial culture may have obscured the moral perceptions, are often the first to shrink from the most solemn responsibilities, and they have not been the last to pollute their own souls by the foul sin of feticide, now so prevalent even among the polite and professedly pious circles of modern society."—pp. 121, 122.

We cannot so well agree with the professor when he tells us that if a lady merely admires and esteems her clergyman, her next child will be like him. No doubt there are many, who, if they had perception enough to detect such a resemblance in their little ones to the good pastor, would be credulous enough to accept an explanation like this, but their neighbors would be apt to account for the phenomenon in some other way. However, we will let our author relate his experience in his own way, merely premising that at best the lady referred to must have devoted much more attention to the preacher himself than to his preaching; and consequently that it was not altogether for the love of God, or the benefit of her soul, that she attended church so regularly. If we are right in this, was not her innocence rather a questionable thing after all?

"The operation of this psycho-physiological law has subjected more than one innocent woman to grave suspicion. Mere admiration of a person—if the emotion be continuous and strong—may suffice to impress the image of the admired object—more or less perfectly—on the offspring. That remarkable effects are produced in this way, the intelligent reader will not be disposed to deny; and surely the philosophical observer will not be the first to indulge in uncharitable suspicions of female infidelity, should his children resemble some one else rather than himself. Some years since the writer was acquainted with a married lady, who lived in Fairfield county, Conn., and was universally respected and esteemed for her exemplary life and unblemished character. She was strongly attached to her church; and her pastor—who was an earnest and forcible speaker—realized her ideal of early and uncorrupted manhood. The lady was accustomed to listen—on each succeeding Sabbath—to his eloquent discourses, with reverent and wrapt attention. She possessed a lively imagination, and

a strong, but doubtless a strictly legitimate interest in the young clergyman; and the image so often presented to the eye and the mind, was transmitted to another. During the second year of the ministry of Mr. —, in that place, the lady referred to became the mother of a son, who, from his birth, was observed to resemble the minister; nor is the likeness less apparent since the child has become a tall and graceful youth."—pp. 133, 134.

Now, supposing the preacher had been a negro or an American Indian, and that the lady was equally pleased with his eloquence and his piety, would the resemblance have been so perfect as it was in this case? Would there have been any resemblance? or is it only tall and graceful preachers that produce such mysterious effects by their preaching, on the pious wives of their parishioners?

Some of the results of what the professor calls mental telegraphing are equally strange; he gives many curious instances, but the following will suffice for our purpose:

"The wife of Rev. C. H. Gardner proved to be an excellent telegraphic instrument. I had personally subjected the lady to a single experiment, resulting in the cure of a distressing asthma, from which she had suffered intensely and for a long time. I had not spoken with this person for three months, when one day her arrival, in company with her husband, was unexpectedly announced. After a brief interview, which did not occupy more than five minutes, I withdrew and retired to my study to complete the task I had left unfinished, leaving Mr. and Mrs. G. with my family and several other persons. Not the slightest allusion had been made to any further experiments, and certainly none were then premeditated.

"Several hours elapsed—I know not how long—when the silence of my apartment was broken by sounds of mirth proceeding from the company below. They were engaged in some amusement which excited a spirited conversation and immoderate laughter. The voice of Mrs. Gardner was distinctly heard. At that moment the idea of taking her from the company occurred to me. But the occasion seemed to be in all respects unfavorable. She had no intimation that any such effort would be made; she was in a remote part of the house, and we were separated by a long flight of stairs and two partitions. Moreover, surrounded by others, and excited by outward circumstances, the soul is not in the most suitable state to be successfully approached and strongly influenced through the subtle, invisible media employed by the mind. Nevertheless, I resolved to make the experiment. Closing my eyes to shut out all external objects, I fixed my mind on Mrs. G., with a determination to bring her to the library. Doubtless the mental effort, in that instance, would have been quite sufficient—had it been applied through the muscles—to overcome the physical resistance of an object equal to the weight of the lady's person. I was, however, not a little astonished on witnessing the result of this experiment. In about two minutes the door opened and Mrs. Gardner entered with her eyes closed, when the following conversation ensued:

"'You appeared to be very happy with the friends below,' I observed, inquiringly.

"'I was.'

"'Why, then, did you leave the company?'

"'I don't know.'

"'Why, or for what purpose, did you come here?'

"'I thought you wanted me, and I could not help obeying the summons.'"—pp. 291-293.

It will be generally admitted that it is rather a dangerous power which enables even a philosopher to cause any lady he pleases, matron or maid,

without word or action, but simply by a mental effort, to hurry to his private apartment. If she could not help complying with the wish of the mental telegrapher in one case, we are bound to believe that she could not in another. Far be it from us to insinuate that any lady, however fascinating, would incur any risk in visiting the apartment of Prof. Brittan; but as all men are not philosophers, and consequently not equally scrupulous in those delicate affairs, we think it best, upon the whole, that the ladies should be beyond the control of the mental telegraphers; and we are not yet prepared to believe that nature has ordered it differently.

We confess we have much more faith in the philosophy of our author when he handles less tender subjects. Thus, for example, the following description of the magnetic sleep is as poetical as it is graphic and true:

"The condition of the magnetic sleeper is usually one of serene and profound repose. He gradually becomes unconscious of time and space, and, in a greater or less degree, regardless of his relations to external objects. When all the outward avenues, through which the soul is wont to receive its impressions, are thus closed, a temporary paralysis rests on the physical medium and instruments of sensation. A leaden slumber weighs down the eyelids; the ear is dull and insensible; and the delicate 'nerve spirit,' that like a fleet courier ran through and along each sensitive fiber, and every nerve of motion—keeping the soul in correspondence with the external world—like a weary traveler rests by the way. Thus the portals of our mortal tabernacle are closed for a season; the conscious and voluntary faculties of the mind are held in subjection by a spell that finds its most striking analogy in death; while the immortal dweller in the temple retires alone—to the inner sanctuary—for the sweet solace of calm repose and silent communion."—p. 234.

We had marked several other extracts, but our diminished space precludes us from availing ourselves of any more. We can now only refer the reader to the volume itself; and we do so most confidently, and with the assurance that it will prove one of the most attractive and most suggestive works of the kind issued for several years. It is got up in superior style, clearly and elegantly printed on good white paper, and tastefully bound in muslin.

Simplified Infantry Tactics. By General WILLIAM H. MORRIS. New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1864.

FROM an examination of the proof-sheets of this work, we do not hesitate to predict that it is destined to become highly popular among our more practical and progressive officers. The experience of our armies in the field having proved that the translated tactics for infantry heretofore employed, were impracticable for our wooded country, and too complicated for rapid manœuvring, our regimental and higher commanders have adopted movements of a simpler and more expeditious character. In the work now under consideration, these practical movements are embodied and systematized. We perceive that such as are important in the old works are preserved and modified; new movements are added to make the system complete. We cannot too much admire the bold-

ness of the author, who had the courage to reject the superfluous evolutions of former tacticians. He discards everything that is not of practical use in the field, and omits all those absurd ceremonies which have merely display for their object. A few comparisons between the simplified and the old tactics, will illustrate the superiority of the former.

The old system prescribes the column by company or by platoon for the march along every variety of road and country. As there are very few roads that will permit so great a width of column, and it would be impossible to march it through an ordinary wood, such a column is entirely impracticable in the field.

The new system prescribes the "column of fours"—formed by facing the battalion in line, to the right or left—such a column can pass through any defile or over any bridge wide enough for four men abreast. It has the important advantage of being able to form line of battle facing towards either flank, by facing to the front or by the rear rank; the column of subdivisions would have to waste some time in forming into line before it could be ready to meet a sudden flank attack.

The old prescribes deployments on square lines, which are tedious and difficult in woods. The new always employs the shortest lines; the old marches subdivisions by their front—often impossible in woods. The new marches subdivisions by their flank, which enables them to file around obstacles, and in case of necessity, to pass through any opening wide enough for four men abreast. Each captain conducts his company, so that the men have only to follow. The old sacrifices valuable time waiting until movements can be simultaneous. The new prefers successive formations, as they render a portion of the troops at once available for action without any unnecessary delay. In massing, the men in leading subdivisions have more time to rest, and the troops in the rear continue the march towards the front without delay.

The old system was prepared when the great dread of infantry was sudden charges of cavalry; consequently, in all changes of front, or other similar movements, a deployed battalion was first formed into a column by division at half distance, so as to be in readiness to form a square before it was moved to another position. This dread exists no longer, on account of our present method of massing the several arms separately; the new system moves battalions in columns of fours over the shortest lines.

In the old system, troops are advanced for action in a deployed line. There is nothing so fatiguing and difficult for the men; and through woods it is almost impossible. In the new, lines are advanced in a line of companies by their flank, and the deployed line not formed until so near the enemy as to require it. This movement enables companies to avoid obstacles with facility, and does not fatigue and harass the men.

There are many other improvements deserving of mention. A few

years ago it was thought that the short rifle would become the general arm for foot-soldiers. The manual of arms was therefore prepared for it. The barrel being found too short for service, the rifled musket was preferred, and is now used by all our infantry with the exception of a few sharpshooters. A more recent system modified the rifle manual, so as to be better suited for the longer arm; but the changes were not adequate. With the butt of the piece between the feet, a short man could not draw his rammer. The manner of fixing and unfixing bayonets was absurd, and the manual was imperfect. These have been changed so as to be suitable for the arms in use.

In the old system there are several different methods for executing the same movement; and there is a perplexing attention to unimportant and trifling details. In the new, simple general rules are prescribed, and the easiest and most expeditious way is always chosen. Commands are reduced to the fewest possible words, and the clearness, precision, and brevity with which the movements are explained, make its acquirement extremely easy. The illustrations, which abound, are of the simplest and plainest character.

The author is peculiarly qualified for producing a good work on infantry tactics. He is a graduate of West Point, and has commanded, and personally instructed, the company, the battalion, the brigade, and the division; he has also had under his command all the different arms, and has been a constant military student. His literary experience has also been of considerable advantage to him.

It is not, indeed, often that we find a book from the press of Mr. Ostrander that we can conscientiously recommend. If he happens on a rare occasion to publish a work that possesses real merit, he is pretty sure to spoil it in one way or other. One time he mutilates it by execrable printing, at another time the paper on which it is printed is so bad that the ink blurs it to such an extent as to render the typography almost illegible, or as legible on the back as on the front. But we are glad to see signs of improvement even at the eleventh hour. Let Mr. Ostrander only publish decent works in a decent way, and none will more cheerfully commend him than we.

BIOGRAPHY AND HISTORY.

Life of Jean Paul Frederic Richter, compiled from various sources, preceded by his Autobiography. By ELIZA BUCKMINSTER LEE. Third edition. Boston: Ticknor & Fields, 1864.

Few have written more than Richter; still fewer, perhaps, have had more enthusiastic admirers. For more than forty years he was the favorite of a large class of his countrymen; and there was scarcely an author of his time with whom he had not more or less intercourse. Much that is interesting was to have been expected from the biography of such a

man; nor have the most sanguine been disappointed. His life has been written by at least a dozen, each of whom occupies a high position in the republic of letters. The clumsiest of these is readable—namely, that of Dr. Fink, of Berlin; two or three are charming, especially that of Madam Von Ilentz; and in the volume before us we have the essence of what is good in each.

It would be foreign to our purpose, on the present occasion, either to give a biography of Jean Paul, or to attempt an analysis of his voluminous writings. This would require an elaborate paper by itself, whereas our object is simply to take a hurried glance at the volume before us, and cull a passage here and there, for the benefit of those who may not have had an opportunity of reading any of his principal works. Although Richter's best works are novels, he is at once a genuine poet and a philosopher. He has left untouched scarcely any subject which interested the public mind in his time. But it is in describing human life, in its various aspects, that he excels. Those who have read either his "Titan" or "Hesperus" need hardly be reminded of the exquisite skill with which he blends the lights with the shades; and yet is scrupulously true to nature in each. But we must haste to give the reader a few brief specimens of the good things contained in the present volume. Richter gives a very humorous account in his autobiography of his courtship with Catharine Bärin. The following passage will serve as a sample:

"On a winter evening, when my princess's collection of sweet gifts was prepared, and needed only a receiver, the pastor's son, who, among all my school companions, was the worst, persuaded me, when a visit from the chaplain occupied my father, to leave the parsonage while it was dark, to pass the bridge, and venture, which I had never done, into the house where the beloved dwelt with her poor grandmother up in a little corner chamber. We entered a little alchouse underneath. Whether Catharine happened to be there, or whether the rascal, under the pretense of a message, allured her down upon the middle of the steps, or, in short, how it happened that I found her there, has become only a dreamy recollection; for the sudden lightning of the present darkened all that went behind. As violently as if I had been a robber, I first pressed upon her my present of sweetmeats, and then I, who in Joditz never could reach the heaven of a first kiss, and never even dared to touch the beloved hand, I, for the first time, held a beloved being upon my heart and lips. I have nothing further to say, but that it was the *one* pearl of a minute, that was never repeated."—p. 81.

It seems the poet liked kisses very well, but he could seldom muster sufficient courage to take one even when beauty was not unwilling to give it. Then when he did venture, as in the instance just quoted, he was too apt to boast of the achievement—a weakness of which he was not entirely cured until he got some lectures from Madam Richter.

Most of his biographers are of opinion that Madam Von Kalb, one of the most beautiful women of her time, was in love with him. Her letters are pretty nearly as enthusiastic and full of love as those of Bettina to Goethe. In one of her epistles to him a few days after his first arrival at Weimar, she says: "You have told me that you could not live where they

did not sympathize with you *as a human being*. I understand you, among the good we are good, among the *loving—happy*. Write me the very moment that you will come to me, that I may not wait. All waiting destroys me, &c., &c." (p. 253). The lady's husband happened to find this letter; he thought its style somewhat objectionable, but he told Richter he did not care much, that he had lived but little with his wife, and that in future he would do so less than ever. On receiving this assurance in friendly terms, Jean Paul wrote her an early answer, and next morning she wrote again, as follows:

"I awoke this morning; I awoke about dawn; as soon as I could distinguish the colors around, I longed for your answer. But I could write before it came. Ah! my God, there was your billet! But for God's sake do not show yourself to others as you do to me, or all who understand you will die for you. You are as if in an apartment of glass, from which you can overlook all with the power of your intellect; but we,—we are no glass, so smooth and cold. None! none! The soul loves an ideal representation, the heart an ideal man, and would appropriate him."—p. 253.

So far as delicacy was concerned, this was rather idiomatic. We are told that Richter had no doubt that the lady loved him; but that, to use the language of our fair biographer, "he had the strength of mind to leave her and to resist what has been so often fatal to genius of the highest order, &c." (p. 256).

It seems that our author was not quite so timid or distant in his acquaintance with Madam Von Krudener, the wife of the Russian Ambassador in Denmark. "They were only an hour together," says our biographer, "but the interest was mutual. There must have been something in Richter's person and manners extremely fascinating to women" (p. 262). Jean Paul answered the lady's letters in very tender language; accordingly, she wrote thus: "Oh, how few men can understand me; and how sweet is the hope to see you here, and *to open this heart to you*, to show you without pride, and without fear, the virtues as well as the faults of my nature; * * this expanding love that glows in my heart and breathing in your works, &c."

The ladies who wrote in this style were rather silly; but that hardly justifies the author of "Titan" for publishing their names in full, as well as their letters. Even Goethe has treated the ladies who confided in him no worse than this. It is not to be wondered at that the conduct of these two illustrious men has led the rest of the world to set but a low estimate on the German sense of honor, especially among the *literati*. Whatever were the faults of Byron, Moore, and other poets of their time, they were not so unmanly, not to say treacherous and mean, as to publish the private letters of their female friends and admirers.

It is not true, however, that all German authors repay the ladies after this fashion for their confiding kindness. Indeed, the charge cannot be justly made against any other; on the contrary, it may be said that no other authors or gentlemen are more scrupulously careful of protecting female honor.

As an illustrative example, suffice it to mention Klopstock, the German Milton, author of the "Messiah," who loved almost every pretty woman he met, but never in the slightest manner sullied any one's reputation. His conduct in this respect was fully appreciated by his countrywomen; and hence it was that a choir of the most beautiful maidens of Germany—the daughters of the most respectable inhabitants of different cities—sang psalms at his funeral, and strewed his grave with flowers. It is but justice to Richter, however, to remember that no poet has paid finer tributes to the superior nature and worth of woman, or has taken more pains to teach man to make allowance for her faults. In one of his letters to Helena, the following admirable and truthful passages occur:

"Ah, in the female heart envious eyes too often look, and too rarely the indulgent! Pitying eyes would there find wounds that every day cut deeper, and a world of stifled sighs. But upon the female soul, as well as the female body, is bound an eternal corset. We go from chain to chain—"

"Suffer me to finish the picture, for so far it is true. Yes, you are right,—prejudices, that are flowers for us, are thistles for you. Your teachers, your companions, and often even your parents, trample upon and crush the little flowers that you have sheltered and cherished. Your hands are more employed than your heads. You are only allowed to play with your fans,—and nothing is pardoned you; at the least—a heart!

"Who then would be severe and satirical, if a being so oppressed, so entangled in chains, has not the courage to deliver all she possesses, that best and tenderest treasure, her heart, into manly hands of which she knows nothing,—knows not whether he will warm or oppress, cherish or torture the gift!"—p. 203.

The following description which he gives of his wife, in one of his letters to his friend Otto, shows that however bashful he was in the society of ladies, he was no indifferent judge of female beauty:

"She has the beauty, rare among Germans, of a dark, soft eye and Madonna brow, . . . self sacrificing love, without equal; modesty, openness; and in the midst of the purest love for me, her heart trembles at every sound of sorrow. She has the warmest friends among women and young girls, and the innumerable visits of congratulation that she received at the news of our *Verlobung* show how much she is beloved by the Berliners."—p. 327.

That Caroline deserved all this none who knew her doubted. To this day she is spoken of throughout all Germany as a model wife. She was a woman of a superior mind herself, as her letters fully prove; but she had a reverence for the genius of her husband which amounted almost to idolatry.

Miss Martineau's History of the Peace, with an Introduction, 1800–1815, forming a complete History of England from 1800 to 1864 inclusive. Boston: Walker, Wise & Co., 1864.

We are glad to see that Miss Martineau's best work is about to be issued in this country, and in a style commensurate with its intrinsic merits. With the sole exception of Macaulay's History, no similar work written within the last twenty years has been more extensively read in England. Indeed none who knew Miss Martineau as a writer, and were capable of appreciating her talents, had any doubt, when she undertook the

task, that she would prove eminently successful as an historian of the period embraced in the new history. There were various reasons for this, but suffice it to mention one--namely, that she had been in the habit, for nearly a quarter of a century, of contributing articles on historical subjects to the principal periodicals of England, but especially to the *Westminster Review*, the most liberal and vigorous of all. Many of her contributions to that journal have been translated into French and German, and have produced no slight influence on the public opinion of Europe.

The work under consideration was commenced in 1846, by Mr. Charles Knight, the well-known author-publisher of London. As he had been successful in various other literary efforts, he resolved to write, as well as to publish, the "History of the Peace;" but he soon found that he was not equal to the former task. It is very well, as a matter of courtesy, to say that he had not sufficient time; but it is much better to state the simple fact as a warning to others, for there are publishers in this country also whose capacities are vastly inferior to those of Mr. Knight, who, if they thought he had made any near approach to success, would fancy that they too might distinguish themselves as historians.

Mr. Knight was glad to rid himself of the task by placing it in the hands of Mr. Craik, now professor in the Queen's College, Belfast; but the latter soon made a discovery pretty similar to that of the former. Between the two they only wrote one book. Now Miss Martineau is called upon by Mr. Knight as one of the very few living writers, if not the only one, capable of finishing the work according to his original plan. She undertook the task, and the result has satisfied the most sanguine of that gifted lady's numerous admirers. In none of the many productions of her pen which we have read, does the masculine vigor of her intellect appear to better advantage than in this work; nowhere else, perhaps, is she so thoughtful and philosophical, or so keen and discriminating; nowhere does she exhibit so close a familiarity with the springs of human action. She is, indeed, inferior to the principal historians of England, both in grouping events and in analyzing character; but in the fascination of her narrative, and in the clearness of her deductions, she is inferior only to Macaulay.

She has written a preface for the American edition, which contains several characteristic passages. Although one of the most cosmopolitan of writers, her English pride is sometimes sufficiently apparent. The following passage will serve as an illustration; but it is not the less truthful, in the main, on this account:

"The chief embarrassments and troubles of an old nation like the British are such as a young republic can never, or ought never, to suffer from. The most prominent feature in the domestic history of this long peace is the reform of antique institutions, and of abuses scarcely less old. For the United States there is no Catholic Question, no Irish Church or Scotch Church Question; no difficulties between Church and State, or Church and Dissenters, or about National Education, on account of religious differences and claims. For the Uni-

ted States there is no such question of representative reform as convulsed Great Britain thirty-five years ago, because the Republic has not yet outgrown any of its principles of representation, as England had. For the United States there is no peril of exhaustion and decay by an inappropriate and corrupted poor-law, such as that which was truly called the gangrene in the social life of England, which it was equally dangerous to remove and to let alone. The success with which the reform was at length accomplished may interest American readers; but it is to be hoped that there will never be reason for any closer sympathy. In the same way the United States have no colonial troubles to manage, no conquered countries—territories conquered centuries before the present generation saw the light—to elevate, to attach, and to make free and happy; and the best friends of the Republic will ever pray that no generation of the citizens will in any age bequeath such an inheritance of difficulty and pain to its posterity. The United States have no such mass of heterogeneous and unsystematized law as England still has to digest, consolidate, and arrange; nor such anomalies of jurisdiction and administration to reconcile or abolish. The United States have no such relics of feudal times as the Game Laws; no such associations in an irritable, unhappy, and perverse portion of the country as Orange Societies and Riband Societies and Whiteboys in Ireland. These are points in the history of modern England, which Americans may read with a historical interest, and may perhaps study for their political or economical bearings; but such phenomena can hardly serve as direct warning or instruction to a young nation. There are other experiences which may possibly be found more directly profitable."—pp. 2, 3.

But if Miss Martineau wishes to remind us of the ancient conquests of England—of the peoples she has "to elevate, to attach, and to make free and happy"—if she alludes to the difficulty of governing "an irritable, unhappy and perverse" race (the Irish), and would have us to suppose, notwithstanding the present war, that no such difficulty is experienced in this country, it is not the less true that she points out serious defects in the British system, which writers of much greater pretensions have failed to observe. Thus, in discussing the tendency of large combinations of the people, she says:

"At present, the Trades Unions of the United Kingdom are its greatest apparent danger. They are an *Imperium in Imperio*, in which *insufferable tyranny is exercised by working-men over their fellows*, from which there seems to be no escape but by the gradual process of education. The laws provide protection and remedy; but recourse to that protection is *prevented by the same oppression*. It is remarkable that the one intolerable despotism which at this day exists in England is found, not in the government, not in the land-owners, not in the old-fashioned rural districts, but in the modern democratic towns,—the *despotism of working-men over fellow-workers in their own class and their own trade*."

Need we say that this sort of despotism is by no means confined to the United Kingdom? Must we not admit that it is exercised to a considerable extent in the United States? When large bodies of men "strike" for higher wages, dictate terms to their employers, and warn their fellow-laborers not to work until their demands are complied with, they pursue a course not less tyrannical than that of the most heartless despot. Any one has a perfect right to set a certain price on his labor, and decline to work if he does not get that price. But if ten, twenty, or a hundred such men combine together and try to force others to imitate their example, thereby injuring at once the employer and employé,

certain it is that whether there is any enactment to punish them or not, they are guilty of a flagrant violation of the law of nature.

By discussing these social problems Miss Martineau has given a peculiar interest to her history; perhaps no other feature has contributed more to its success as a business enterprise. The complete work, in four octavo volumes, got up in the tasteful style of the specimen sheets before us, will form a handsome and valuable addition to any library.

Poems of George P. Morris, with a Memoir of the Author. Fourth edition. New York: Charles Scribner.

THE recent death of Morris has endeared his effusions more and more to his many admirers, and we are glad to know that such generous enthusiasm is producing its fruit so bountifully, especially among ladies of culture and sensibility, that a new and enlarged edition of his poems is in contemplation. It is, however, rather of the man than of his works that we intend to speak on the present occasion. With our estimate of the former most of our readers are acquainted; but we are averse to praising the private virtues of even our most familiar and beloved friends to their face. This has been particularly our feeling in the case of Morris, with whom we have been on terms of the closest intimacy for several years.

None had better opportunities of knowing him for the last seven years of his life than we. To no other person outside his own household did he express his mind more freely, either in his letters or conversation; and we can truly say that we have never known him to utter an unkind word even of those whose persistent depreciatory criticisms gave him most pain. If a former friend took offence at anything he said or did, however harmless in design, he evinced all the anxiety and solicitude of an affectionate child to convince him that no offence or anything unkind had been intended, so that a full reconciliation might take place.

We shall never forget how unhappy he felt, when a misunderstanding of this kind took place between himself and a well-known literary gentleman of Philadelphia. The latter, though as generous and warm-hearted as he is brilliant and eloquent, entertained a strong feeling of resentment towards Morris, which lasted for some years. Satisfied that one as well as the other meant well, and was actuated by honorable motives, we cheerfully undertook the task of mediator; and we indulge in no exaggeration when we say that we remember no act of our lives which afforded us greater pleasure, or to which we can now look back with a stronger feeling of self-gratulation, than the cordial reconciliation which we were instrumental in effecting between Morris and his former friend of the *genus irritabile*.

Of Willis he always spoke not as of a partner, but as of a brother. If the former had any faults, the latter either could not see them or would not. Often we have heard Morris say: "Many misunderstand Willis; if

they knew him as well as I, they would not believe him guilty of an ungenerous or unkind act." He would press this argument with so much warmth, and adduce so many cogent reasons in support of it, that we confess we had ourselves a strong predilection in favor of Willis before we had ever seen the poet of Idlewild. Surely, thought we, he must possess noble qualities, whatever may be his follies, who has inspired so deep and lasting an affection, even in so genial a mind as that of the author of "Woodman, spare that Tree;" and our experience since has satisfied us that we were not mistaken in our opinion. We have carefully read the various reminiscences of his late partner, which Mr. Willis has so affectionately given in the Home Journal, and we think they are creditable, not only to the two poets themselves, but to human nature.

No sketch of Morris, however elaborate, could do either himself or Willis justice, if it did not embody more or less of the impressions of the latter; we will, therefore, quote an extract or two. In writing to the junior editor of the Home Journal, on the funeral day, Willis pays the following affectionate tribute to his late partner and friend:

"I had intended, in this number of the Home Journal, to give an account of the funeral of our beloved old friend; but one of those nervous headaches, to which I am periodically a victim, followed my return from the cemetery at Cold Spring, and, besides, I looked at the subject a little more seriously. It is to be remembered that I joined forces with Morris in 1830, and that we have had a friendship, without dispute or difference, from that time to his grave. Here are thirty-four years of Literary Friendships, which he and I have enjoyed together, (including those with Halleck and Theodore Fay, Edgar Poe and Rufus Dawes, Fanny Forrester and Edith May, and so on through almost an unnumbered constellation,) and of which the limning is not to be done so hastily. I must have both time and a set of nerves free from pain. Pardon me, if I, therefore, defer it.

"One word before closing. Morris's funeral, passingly as it has occurred amid our turmoil of events, and reconciled as we were to his final relief from suffering, was not tearlessly witnessed. To most of us who were present it was a parting with one who, for a long life, was bluntly but infallibly good. Of his loyalty in an act of friendship, of his truthfulness in a matter of business, or of his tenderheartedness in a matter of charity, there could never be question. He was always sincere, affectionate, generous, appreciative of other men, and modest in himself. I seldom have seen so intrinsically worthy a man—so free from any possibility of human failing—as this same song-writer who is gone.

"We did not think, you and I, while celebrating the Fourth, by the brook at Idlewild, a few days since, that our senior brother, even then, prepared for his departure. But it was remarked by his doctor that on that day his vital powers seemed fatally to give way, and he sank to sleep with the happy peacefulness of a child. As he lay in his coffin in the church, his face had resumed all its nobleness, all its calmness; and it was in harmony with that list of pall-bearers—the Apostolic heads of Bryant and Professor Bartlett, General Dix and General Sandford, Professor Weir and Gouverneur Kemble, showing of what metal they were cast—and it was by these 'bright spirits' that he was recognized and beloved. His mantle, my dear boy, has now descended upon *you*. Be content, sometimes (as he did), to wear it without me!

"Your ailing brother,

"N. P. WILLIS."

A few days subsequently Mr. Willis wrote as follows to the same gentleman :

"On going home to the Highlands, after the funeral of our beloved old friend, I found the brook in our glen of cascades almost lessened by summer's drought to silence—a hush, which, with our hearts, for these two or three days, seemed the natural accordance ; for, in the silencing of the voice of Morris (in death), there was for many of us a loss of music to the world !

"And it will not be altogether irrelevant if I answer here a question which has been addressed to me in a letter—a gentleman (one of our Philadelphia subscribers) writing to inquire 'whether the great song-writer was a musician.' He was undoubtedly, though technically it might be denied. He was that natural-born musician to whom all melody comes easy ; singing never a song, that I know of, nor playing upon any manner of instrument, but with an 'ear' which, notwithstanding, was quite infallible. He could tell what was true, in tune or in verse, by a kind of instinct. That he passionately loved and enjoyed music I know, and though that might be a very unintellectual quality, there was in Morris a genius for what the soul also may share in the matter. With the musically inspired, as performers or composers, as men or as women, he had a natural and instinctive friendship ; and, that they all loved him, any faithful biographer, either of his hospitable days at Undercliff, or of our genial hours at the office of the Home Journal, would be very sure to record. I can chronicle, for one among those who loved him, in prose and poetry—with music or without—that his voice for me was a harmony of a lifetime."

We might fill pages with similar extracts from the reminiscences already published by Mr. Willis. Nor has he contented himself with giving expression to his own affectionate sorrow in his own language ; he has carefully reproduced whatever he has found appropriate or worthy of the subject among the obituary notices of Morris's numerous literary friends.

The peculiar merits of Morris's Songs are so well known that it would be superfluous to do more than allude to them in a hasty notice like the present, especially as we have given our impressions of them at length, with copious specimens, in a previous number of our Journal.* Suffice it to say here, therefore, that although the claim of Morris to be regarded as a poet in the higher and more restricted acceptation of the term may be disputed, none of his countrymen, who are qualified to judge, will deny him the distinction of being the best song writer that America has hitherto produced ; this rank he has occupied by common consent for the last twenty years ; and it has been fully ratified by some of the most eminent critics of Europe.

Our lamented friend was born in the city of New York, in October, 1801. His father, an English gentleman of means, was the nephew of Robert Morris, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, but he died when George was a mere boy. His mother, who was the granddaughter of Sir Thomas Manning, of England, survived his father only a few years ; so that George was thrown on his own resources at an early age. In this emergency he entered the printing office of

* No. viii., p. 377 *et. seq.*

George F. Hopkins, where he soon became a good compositor. In 1814-15, he wrote several songs of a national character, which acquired extensive popularity; and it was the success thus attained which turned his attention to literature as a profession, and induced him to become a contributor to several journals of the day. In 1819, he married Miss Jane Dobson, of Staten Island, a lady of fine personal charms, but who died after giving birth to one child. In 1825, he married his second wife, Mary Worthington, the beautiful and accomplished daughter of his former employer, who was the grandson of Stephen Hopkins, another signer of the Declaration of Independence. To this estimable lady he was warmly devoted; no husband or wife ever lived more happily together. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that since her death, which took place in November, 1859, General Morris has never been the same; he gradually declined, notwithstanding the tender solicitude and constant care of his children, especially of his two daughters, who deserve to be known to the world as models of filial affection and devotedness. We do not mean that his son, William H. Morris, was not equally solicitous for his health and comfort, but the war called him to the field like so many others. But whatever could be done by a son for a father at such a distance, and under such circumstances, was not forgotten by the former, and the poet had the further consolation to see his son promoted before his death to the rank of brigadier-general, for his bravery and skill in the field.

During the month of October, 1861, General Morris had a severe attack of rheumatism, from the effects of which he never entirely recovered, though at times he rallied and gave hopes of returning health. His nervous system, however, was prostrated by long continued debility, and after a struggle of three years and ten months nature gave way. He had been sick this time but six days. During most of this time he slept, and finally, on the 6th of July, 1864, he passed peacefully away. His friends regarded it as providential that his son had been wounded on the 9th of May previously at the battle of the Wilderness, as he was thereby permitted to soothe the dying hours of his beloved parent.

BELLES LETTRES.

Macaria. By AUGUSTA J. EVANS, author of "Beulah." 12mo., pp. 469. New York: M. Doolady, 1864.

We have seldom read a more whimsical novel than this; no one of the least perception could doubt that it is a woman's book, if he had never heard of Miss Evans as the author. But by this we mean no reflection upon it; on the contrary, we cheerfully admit that the book is all the more attractive for the oddities we allude to. None but a lady would have mixed up love and geology, astronomy and politics, woman's

rights and the abolitionists, secession and the fine arts, as Miss Evans has done. That the lady has read, observed, and reflected much, is sufficiently evident, and far be it from us to deny that she possesses talent of no mean order. These qualifications have enabled her to write a very lively and readable book, but one composed of exceedingly incongruous materials. She talks much about art; one of her principal characters (Clifton) is an artist; both Electra and Irene, the two principal female characters, are amateurs; but the story, if such a series of fragments, loosely put together, with only a very slender thread uniting them, may be called, is written in defiance of all art. And yet if it had been otherwise, we doubt whether we should have read it as carefully as we have.

After reading the graphic description we have in chapter xvii. of the various accomplishments and profound learning of Irene, we are the better prepared to relish those fine touches of nature in the love scenes, for some of the latter are among the best we have ever seen. The great fault of American novel writers is, that they make their lovers too cold, too distant and formal, too much like machines; they make them discuss the delicate affairs of the heart with as much *sang froid* as if the subject were the latest fall in the stock market, or the next meeting of the General Reform Society. As if to make amends for this, they give them charms in profusion. Miss Evans does not err so much in either of these respects as several others we could mention, although, occasionally, she too makes her personages more like angels than men or women; and sometimes also she puts very naughty things into the mouths of her prettiest, most learned, and most accomplished women. We cannot undertake to illustrate all this; but we think that a glance here and there, though almost at random, will show that we do not misrepresent our author. Thus, for example, although Irene is so great an astronomer that she has to send to Europe expressly for instruments to enable her to carry on her observations, and is nearly equally learned in various other sciences, not to mention the arts, she cannot make a civil answer to her uncle, who kindly solicits about her health, advises her to retire.

" 'Irene, my child, it is one o'clock.'

" Without looking up she raised her head towards the clock on the mantel, and answered coldly :

" ' You need not sit up to tell me the time of night ; I have a clock here,' &c.

It is in vain he tells her that her father forbade her from sitting up in this manner; from all appearances she would have been as little influenced by the advice of her father, as she was by that of her uncle. But she is as beautiful as she is learned, which may, perhaps, be regarded as an excuse for her wilfulness. The following passage affords a pretty fair specimen of our author's descriptive powers :

" She sat there just as he had seen her several times before, with her arms crossed on the table, the large celestial globe drawn near, astronomical catalogues scattered about, and a thick folio open before her. She wore a loose wrapper, or *robe de chambre*, of black velvet, lined with crimson silk and girded

with a heavy cord and tassel. The sleeves were very full, and fell away from the arms, *exposing them from the dimpled elbows, and rendering their pearly whiteness more apparent by contrast with the sable hue of the velvet*, while the broad round collar was pressed smoothly down, revealing the *polished turn of the throat*. The ivory comb lay on the table, and the unbound hair, falling around her shoulders, *swept over the back of her chair and trailed on the carpet*. A miracle of statuesque beauty was his queenly niece, yet he could not look at her without a vague feeling of awe, of painful apprehension; and, as he stood watching her motionless figure, in its grand yet graceful *pose*, he sighed involuntarily. She rose, shook back her magnificent hair, and approached him. Her eyes, *so like deep, calm azure lakes, crossed by no ripple, met his*, and the clear, pure voice echoed through the still room."—p. 193.

On another occasion Irene is waited on by Col. Aubrey, who is "clad in the handsome, glittering uniform which showed his *nobly-proportioned and powerful figure so advantageously*" (p. 361), and when she made her appearance, "her dress was of Swiss muslin, *revealing her dazzling shoulders, and every dimple and curve of her arms*," &c. (p. 362). Quite an interesting sight, it must be admitted. That one whose shoulders dazzled in such a manner should speak like an ordinary mortal, was, of course, not to be expected. Accordingly we are told that "*the crystal calmness of the countenance was broken at last; a new, strange light brimmed the unfathomable eyes, and broke in radiant ripples round the matchless mouth*," &c. (p. 362).

There is far too much of this sort of dialect; did we venture to offer a little friendly advice to Miss Evans, we would hint that language like this is not natural, that its effect is somewhat like that of a heavy brush which daubs rather than paints. We have now pointed out the gravest faults of our author, but it will afford us much more pleasure to point out her beauties, and they are sufficiently abundant.

The love scene in chapter xii. is finely conceived. Mr. Clifton, an artist, is so much charmed with the sketches of the young and beautiful Electra, that he invites her to reside in his house and become his pupil. She accepts; the artist loves her; she gives him friendship in return. One day he finds her admiring a portrait which proves to be that of her cousin, who is also her beloved. The artist becomes jealous, and tries to divert her attention. She takes offence and addresses her master in no very gentle language. "You transcend your privilege, sir, when you attempt to catechize me thus. I deny the right of any one on earth to put such questions to me, and to make such assertions" (p. 145). Further on the artist ventures to remark, in allusion to her affection for her cousin:

"Electra Gray, you are unwomanly in your unsought love."

"Unwomanly! If so, made such *by your unmanliness*. Unwomanly! I deny it. Which is most unwomanly—to yield to the merciless importunity of one to whom I am indebted; to give my hand to one *whose touch chills the blood in my veins*; to promise to become his wife, *when the bare thought sickens my soul*," &c.—p. 148.

In short, she scolds the poor artist through all the moods and tenses, until "stagging back he sinks into his arm-chair." We are told that,

"without a word, she passed him, and went up to her own room." But reflection soon brings remorse and tenderness; she resolves to make all the amends in her power. We will allow the author to describe the scene that followed, and it will be seen that it is such as needs no comment. None who know anything of woman's nature, will deny that she has no more prominent trait in her character, than this noble and self-sacrificing generosity.

"For a time the scales balanced; she could not conquer her repugnance to remaining in his home; then a grave and its monumental stone were added, and, with a groan, she dropped her face in her hands. At the expiration of two hours she locked the portrait from view, and went back to the studio. The house was very quiet; the ticking of the clock was distinctly heard as she pushed the door open and glided in. Involuntarily she drew a long, deep breath, for it was like leaving freedom at the threshold, and taking upon herself grievous bonds. The arm-chair was vacant, but the artist lay on one of the sofas, with his face towards the wall, and on a small table beside him stood a crystal bowl of cracked ice, a stained wine-glass, and a vial containing some dark purple liquid. Approaching softly, she scanned the countenance, and tears gathered in her eyes as she saw how thin and hollow were the now flushed cheeks; how the lips writhed now and then, as if striving to suppress bitter words. The beautiful brown hair was all tossed back, and she noticed that along the forehead clustered many silver threads. One hand was thrust within his vest, the other thrown up over the head, grasping a fresh handkerchief. Softly she took this hand, and, bending over him, said in a low, thrilling tone:

"Mr. Clifton, I was passionate and hasty, and said some unkind things which I would fain recall, and for which I beg your pardon. I thank you for the honor you would have conferred on me, and for the unmerited love you offered me. Unless it were in my power to return that love, it would be sinful to give you my hand; but, since you desire it so earnestly, I will promise to stay by your side, to do what I can to make you happy; to prove, by my devotion, that I am not insensible to all your kindness, that I am very grateful for the affection you have given me. I come and offer you this, as a poor return for all that I owe you; it is the most my conscience will permit me to tender. My friend, my master, will you accept it, and forgive the pain and sorrow I have caused you?"

"He felt her tears falling on his fingers, and, for a moment, neither spoke; then he drew her hands to his lips and kissed them tenderly."—pp. 150-1.

Miss Evans has acquitted herself so admirably in the sketch, of which this is but a small fragment, that we have but little disposition to criticise even what is most erroneous in her chapters on Secession, which, however, are by no means the least interesting part of her book. It had been better, notwithstanding that our author had left the discussion of politics to politicians. We do not charge her with ignorance of the subject; we blame her rather for understanding it too well; although, if she is acquainted with the influences which brought about the present war, she does not indicate them very clearly. Speaking of Mr. Lincoln's election, our author remarks: "Abolitionism, so long adroitly cloaked, was triumphantly clad in robes of state—shameless now and hideous; and while the North looked upon the loathsome face of its political Mokanna, the South prepared for resistance." (p. 337.) We have often thought that the intemperate zeal of certain abolitionists did much mischief; but abolitionism, or the desire to abolish slavery, can hardly be regarded as either "shameless" or

"hideous." Irene and Electra are made to discuss the whole affair, to show how well qualified women are to take part in state affairs. Electra tells Irene that she reminds her of the *Canoe Bracelet*; the latter replies: "It is one of the finest imaginative creations I have ever read; and I cannot divest myself of the apprehension that it *adumbrates the fate of New Orleans*." (p. 410.) The gentle Irene, she of the "matchless mouth" and "dazzling shoulders," is made to express herself as follows: "Rather would I have men, women and children fill one wide, common grave, than live in subjection to, or in connection with a people so depraved, unscrupulous and godless" (as we Yankees). (p. 412.) The results of secession are described in glowing colors. "Purified," says our author, "from all connection with the North, and with no vestige of the mischievous element of New England Puritanism, which, like other poisonous Mycelium, springs up pertinaciously where even a shred is permitted, *we can be a prosperous and noble people*." (p. 414.) But enough; the book must be read in order to be appreciated, as to its peculiar logic as well as its love scenes. In short, taking it with all its faults, it must be admitted that it is decidedly the best American novel published since the war commenced.

Poems of the War. By GEORGE H. BOKER. 12mo., pp. 202. Boston, 1864.

THE contents of this volume embrace the good, bad, and indifferent in poetry. The merits of any piece are not of a very high order, but nearly all are readable. The verses on the Cumberland are the best of any we have seen on the same subject; they are so good that we cheerfully extract about one-third of the poem; and in doing so, it is but justice to the author to say that the piece improves as it proceeds towards the end:

"Stand to your guns, men!" Morris
cried.

Small need to pass the word;
Our men at quarters ranged them-
selves

Before the drum was heard.

And then began the sailors' jests:

"What thing is that, I say?"

"A long-shore meeting-house adrift
Is standing down the bay!"

A frown came over Morris' face;
The strange, dark craft he knew;

"That is the iron Merrimac,
Manned by a rebel crew.

"So shot your guns, and point them
straight;

Before this day goes by,
We'll try of what her metal's made."
A cheer was our reply.

"Remember, boys, this flag of ours
Has seldom left its place;
And where it falls, the deck it strikes
Is covered with disgrace.

"I ask but this: or sink or swim,
Or live or nobly die,
My last sight upon earth may be
To see that ensign fly!"

Meanwhile the shapeless iron mass
Came moving o'er the wave,
As gloomy as a passing hearse,
As silent as the grave.

Her ports were closed; from stem to
stern
No sign of life appeared.
We wondered, questioned, strained
our eyes,
Joked,—everything but feared.

She reached our range. Our broadside
rang,
Our heavy pivots roared ;
And shot and shell, a fire of hell,
Against her sides we poured.

God's mercy ! from her sloping roof
The iron tempest glanced,
As hail bounds from a cottage thatch,
And round her leaped and danced ;

Or when against her dusky hull
We struck a fair, full blow,
The mighty, solid iron globes
Were crumbled up like snow.

On, on, with fast increasing speed
The silent monster came,
Though all our starboard battery
Was one long line of flame.

She heeded not, no gun she fired,
Straight on our bow she bore ;
Through riving plank and crashing
frame
Her furious way she tore.

Alas ! our beautiful, keen bow,
That in the fiercest blast
So gently folded back the seas,
They hardly felt we passed !

"The Crossing at Fredericksburg" is very much inferior to this in every respect ; indeed, it is only by a considerable stretch of courtesy that we can call the former poetry, or any more appreciative name than tolerably graphic prose in the form of verse. But, we will present the reader a stanza or two, so that he may judge for himself."

"Where go they?" "Across the river."
"O God! and must I lie still,
While that drum and that measured trampling
Move from me far down the hill?"
"How many?" "I judge, four hundred."
"Who are they? I'll know to a man."
"Our own Nineteenth and Twentieth,
And the Seventh Michigan."

This is not the genuine article, Mr. Boker ; it is rather lame—too much in the doggerel style. Nor is "Hooker's Across" much better. What *is* much better, though not the best in the book, is the tribute paid by our author to a negro regiment. Indeed, he soars to quite a respectable height in his admiration of negro valor ; if we are to judge by Mr. Boker's poetry, the black man is not only equal to the white in bravery and intrepidity, but greatly his superior. There must be some mistake, however. Naturalists and physiologists tell us that the brave are apt to compress their lips, or give a simultaneous shout, when about to make an onslaught on the enemy ; whereas, it seems the negroes had their mouths open !

"Down the long, dusky line
Teeth gleam and eyeballs shine," &c.

But the "Ode to America" is really a good poem, although we protest against mixing up the girls so closely with the wine ; and yet this is not the worst treatment the fair receive at the hands of Mr. Boker, as may be seen from the very first line of his ode. With this exception, however, it is unquestionably a spirited piece ; indeed, we are willing to admit that such is its merit that it is worth the price of the whole book. We copy the two first stanzas, merely premising that they are by no means the best of the poem, although the author waxes rather ambitious and hyperbolic in style as he approaches the end.

No more of girls and wine,
 No more of pastoral joys,
 No after-sighing for some antique line
 Of bearded kings, who, at their nation's birth,
 As children play with toys,
 Made merry with our earth :
 No more, no more of these !
 The girls are pale ;
 The wine is drunken to the lees ;
 Still are the bleatings of the woolly fold ;
 The olden kings look thin and cold,
 Like dim belated ghosts
 That hurrying sail
 Towards their dark graves,
 Along the brightening coasts,
 And sapphire hollows of the crested waves,
 Chased by the golden lances hurled
 From the young sun above his cloudy world.

My country, let me turn to thee,
 With love and pride that glow
 Pure as twin altar-fires which blow
 Their flames together to one Deity.
 Look where I may,
 O land beneath the iron sway
 Of the strong hand ;—
 O land gored through and through
 By thy own faithless brand ;
 Land of once happy homes,
 To whose now darkened doors
 The hand of Sorrow comes,
 Early and late, and pours,
 With no soft prelude, or no warning beat,
 Her urn of bitter tears before thy feet !

The volume will be extensively, if not universally, read, both in the army and navy ; but the admirers of poetry in general, ladies as well as gentlemen, will find it more attractive than the productions of poets of much higher pretensions than Mr. Boker, and we would recommend it to them accordingly.

1. *The Home Circle: A collection of Piano-forte Music; consisting of the most favorite Marches, Polkas, Redows, Schottisches, Galops, Mazurkas, Quadrilles, Dances, &c.* Being a Repository of Music for Parlor and Drawing-Room Recreations. Vol. 1, 4to., pp. 216. Boston: Oliver Ditson & Co.
2. *Operatic Pearls; A Selection of the most charming Songs, Duets, and Trios, &c., &c., with English, French and Italian words.* 4to., pp. 200. Boston: Oliver Ditson & Co.

Owing to some mistake or other, these are the first of Ditson's publications that have found their way to our table for quite a considerable period. Not, indeed, but we have had music enough from publishers of Boston, as well as of New York and Philadelphia, quite a large pile, not only every quarter, but every month, nay every week. But not a sheet, or a book of it, has ever been noticed in this Journal. The space which we can devote to music is necessarily limited ; and accordingly we re-

serve it for the best issued from the American press. That we regard Ditson's in this light we need hardly remind our readers, especially as most, if not all of them agree with us, themselves, in our estimate of it. New Yorkers need not feel jealous, however, for if Boston can boast the best music, New York can boast the best musical instruments, that is, we can set off Steinway against Ditson; the best American pianos against the best piano-music; and in doing so, we are reminded of Keats' beautiful ode on a Grecian urn, especially of that stanza in which we are told—

“ Heard melodies are sweet, but those unheard
Are sweeter, therefore, ye soft pipes play on,”

The two books now before us are each excellent in its kind. The “Home Circle” embraces many of the best lyrics of different nations, English, Irish, Scotch, Italian, French, German, Spanish, American, &c. together with some choice operatic gems. Some idea may be formed of the multifarious variety of pieces in the “Home Circle,” from the fact that the table of contents occupies two large quarto pages in small type. Among the more familiar airs are the Marseillaise Grand March, Webster's Funeral March (by Beethoven), The Bohemian Girl, Home, Sweet Home, Kate Kearney's March, Comin' thro' the Rye, Come, haste to the Wedding, Land of Sweet Erin, Paddy Carey, Ben Lomond, &c., &c.

It would be sufficient to say of “Operatic Pearls” that it is worthy of its title, and this is no exaggeration of its merits; for it contains the best gems from Don Giovanni, Lucrezia Borgia, Sonnambula, Traviata, Norma, Favorita, Huguenots, Il Flauto Magico, &c., &c., &c. Indeed it is not too much to say that a dozen such pieces, not to mention scores, as *Tu che a Dio* (Beauteous Idol), from Lucia, *Parigi O cara* (O loved Italy), from Traviata, *La Brezza a legga intorno* (Floating Breezes), from the Sicilian Vespers, *L'amore me' piu cara* (I love Thee far more dearly), from Capuletti, *Nobil Donna e tanso* (Sweeter than Wealth), from Huguenots, &c., &c., are worth the price of both books.

Christian Home-Life: A Book of Examples and Principles. 12mo., pp. 228. American Tract Society. Boston. 1864.

WE think there is no family of any Christian denomination that could fail to derive benefit from the perusal of this volume. In taking it up, we confess we did not ourselves intend to read more of it than what we thought would be sufficient to give us a pretty accurate idea of its character; but it is written in so attractive a style, the precepts of morality are so appropriately introduced, and the youthful mind is so thoroughly convinced of the importance of religious training, that we have almost unconsciously passed from page to page to the end. The chapters on Piety at Home, Social Intercourse, the Formation of Character, and Teaching and Training, claim particular attention. These subjects are always interesting;

but in the present case the author has succeeded in imparting to each a charm which is all the more agreeable for being so rare in books of the present day—especially in books intended for youth.

Every chapter is interspersed with the suggestions and opinions of men eminent in various callings. By this means the reader is brought *en rapport* with different minds, from each of which he is taught to learn a useful lesson, and one which he is not likely to forget. In short, the author of "Christian Home-Life" understands the philosophy of teaching youth how to appreciate the value of knowledge.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Fifth Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Insurance Department, State of New York, pp. clxxxvii., 778. Albany, 1864.

No thoughtful mind, that has any idea of the signification of numbers, can give even a cursory glance at this portly volume, without receiving from it a multitude of suggestions. Could the vast and multifarious interests which it represents be stated in plain figures, they would seem as fabulous as the story of Aladdin and his Wonderful Lamp. That a considerable proportion of the "statements" which it contains deal in the fabulous and mysterious quite as largely as the Arabian Nights, is indeed but too true. It is well known by all who have taken any pains with the "working" of Insurance at the present day, that it is a very common mistake with a certain class of insurance functionaries to call a hundred a thousand, a thousand five hundred thousand, &c., &c.

Nor is it so easy to detect the error as it might seem at first sight to the casual observer. The officers of any company may claim, with much apparent reason, that they know their own business better than anybody else. Many may suspect from what they know of their resources and patronage, or rather from their lack of both, that they multiply where they should only add, and *vice versa*. To prove the fact is, however, quite another matter; and if there are some who could prove it to the satisfaction of the most credulous, perhaps it is their interest not to do so, but rather to aid in the work of mystification and exaggeration.

But there are companies enough in New York, who have no need to misrepresent their real business. Such is the case, for example, with the Columbian Marine, the Mercantile Mutual, the Washington (Fire), the Security (Fire), the Hope, the New York Life, the Equitable Life, the Knickerbocker Life, the United States Life, the Manhattan Life, &c.; and the fact cannot be kept too prominently before the public, because the great difficulty with the uninitiated is to distinguish such from the opposite class. Not one out of twenty of those who desire to insure their lives or properties, can do so, and hence it is that so large a number lose instead of gaining by insurance. This, however, is no reflection on the principle

of insurance, any more than it is a reflection on the gold coin of a nation to say that there are, sometimes, spurious imitations of it, against which the public ought to be on its guard.

It must be admitted, that our State Superintendent contributes not a little to the protection of the unwary. We cannot indeed always agree with Mr. Barnes. We think he sometimes becomes a shield to those who deserve to be denounced and exposed; and that at other times he indulges in no slight exaggeration as to the amount of confidence which ought to be placed in certain companies. But we do not believe that he does either intentionally; on the contrary, we feel certain that he means to act honestly and impartially; and what is more, we cheerfully add that so far as we can judge from a pretty close scrutiny of his official action, he is more generally right than any other man we know would be likely to be were he placed in the same position. That he is disposed to publish whatever facts of any public importance come to his notice, we have abundant evidence in his Annual Reports; and, so far as we can learn, or know, from experience, he is always equally willing to afford the press every proper facility at his command to detect error wherever it may be found, and give it full and early publicity.

That these various influences—especially the habit of discussing and criticising insurance operations—are producing salutary results, it is scarcely necessary to observe. Mere pretenders to the business of underwriting are soon found out, and are taught to understand that they must either improve their morals, or turn their attention to some calling for which honesty and integrity are not so essentially necessary. Before we advert to any particulars given in the voluminous Report before us, we may call attention to a somewhat remarkable fact, which has, perhaps, not occurred to many, namely, that very few, if any, of the many companies that have their offices in basements enjoy much of the public confidence; for our own part, we cannot remember one at this moment, in whose policy we could place the least confidence. It is not the honest basements, however that have injured the reputation of the companies which have taken possession of them; on the contrary, it is the latter, which, by their bad conduct, have cast a stigma on the former.

A little reflection will show that it requires a large amount of credulity on the part of the public to believe that a company which cannot afford to pay for a decent office above the level of the street, but, perhaps, shares even the basement and its two or three desks, half a dozen chairs, &c., with one or two other companies of the same genus, is capable of insuring life or property to the amount of hundreds of thousands. But there is no lack of just such faith in our community. The same numerous class who believe that a particular pill, bolus, or bottle will cure them of all manner of diseases, will see no difficulty whatever in the anomaly that a company that is not worth \$5,000 in the world, in money, value, or credit,

or all together, can pay \$100,000, on demand, as if it could reproduce the miracle of the two barley loaves and two small fishes, which fed so large a number of hungry Jews.

In view of the many frauds committed by underwriters of this class, it is not to be wondered at that several states are adopting measures the object of which is to protect their citizens against companies which undertake to issue policies, while they lack either the means or the will to afford any real protection when it is needed. Mr. Barnes gives an instance, as follows :

"The proposed passage by the state of California of an act requiring all insurance companies not incorporated under the laws of that state, to make a special deposit with some citizen, who shall be approved by the Comptroller, of the sum of \$75,000, in United States or California state stocks, or in stocks or bonds of the city and county of San Francisco, for the security of policy holders, as a pre-requisite to the transaction of any business in that state, has again forced public attention to the consideration of the whole system of state deposits, as applicable to insurance companies and the business of insurance between the various states of the Union."—p. vii.

In our opinion this would be a judicious arrangement ; for we happen to know that it is not directed against honest, reliable companies, but against companies proverbial, wherever known, for their endless efforts to evade payment. Companies such as we have named, do not need to press their policies on the people of California, or any other state. To our own knowledge, citizens of San Francisco send directly to New York for the policies of the Columbian Marine, Mercantile Mutual, Washington (Fire), New York Life, &c. It seems that formerly the same people were in the habit of taking policies, almost forced upon them by local agents, of the Metropolitan (Fire and Marine), the Neptune, &c., of this city, but that learning that the capital of the former had become "impaired," and that the latter was about to give up the ghost altogether, they resolved to pursue a different course in future. We cannot agree, therefore, with Mr. Barnes in his comments on the contemplated Insurance Law of California. "No apparent necessity," he says, "has dictated this unfriendly step on the part of our Pacific neighbors; no recent frauds by Eastern companies are reported, nor any failure to pay claims for losses when duly established by the usual proofs, or by litigation in the state courts of California."—(Ins. Report, p. vii.)

This may be true, but we have received assurances of a very different state of facts. If no frauds have been committed, why is a deposit law deemed necessary? It may be said that Ohio did not need her deposit law of 1856, and that it was her disloyalty to the Union that led Tennessee to pass such a law in 1860. But can a similar excuse be urged for the New York law of 1851, by the provisions of which all companies transacting the business of life insurance in this state were required to deposit \$100,000, or its equivalent? It is true that this law was repealed in 1853, but the law enacted in its stead, and which is still in force, re-

quires both New York and foreign life companies to deposit \$100,000. If this is not deemed necessary as a precaution against fraud, why is it done? And if it be necessary in New York, why needless or unfriendly in other states?

We agree with Mr. Barnes that "statements oftener than once a year are burthensome to the companies and unnecessary to the public." The remark is made in reference to insurance laws existing in several states, requiring semi-annual reports. "If the supervising officer," says our State Superintendent, "has the power of calling for a special statement at any time during the year, in cases where the situation of a company is *critical* or *questionable*, the desired safety can be more certainly maintained and secured." (p. 44.) In the first place, the existence of such laws shows that those who enacted them had some suspicion that there are insurance companies which are not to be relied upon; and is not the justice of the suspicion fully recognized by Mr. Barnes when he speaks of the "critical, or questionable" position of a company?

Several new fire companies have been inaugurated within the last six months, of which by far the strongest and most reliable is the Morris Fire and Inland Insurance Company. Its authorized capital is \$5,000,000; its cash capital paid in, \$200,000. Of its chief officers it is sufficient to say that they are the same who, in a few brief years, have raised the Columbian Marine Insurance Company to the highest standard of excellence, as a means of protection against marine losses—namely, Mr. B. C. Morris, President, and Mr. Wm. M. Whitney, Secretary. The public will hardly require any assurance that the same gentlemen will be equally prompt in adjusting and paying losses incurred by fire. We certainly have not the least doubt on the subject, and, accordingly, we have insured in the Morris Fire and Inland Insurance Company the property that is most precious to us, namely, our library. The new company insures dwelling-houses, stores, and all kinds of buildings; also, household furniture, &c., as well as vessels lying in port. In short, we do not hesitate to predict that it will prove one of the most successful of all our fire companies.

We hear it rumored that the officers of the Sun Mutual (Marine) are also about to inaugurate a fire company; if such be the fact, we cannot say that we anticipate any very important results from it. For our own part we cannot see that the president of the Sun Mutual has any time to spare. After one has paid due attention to a line of emigrant ships that are none of the cleanest, safest, or most comfortable, devoted about one-half of his time to ward politics, and an hour or two a day, on an average, to the Sun Mutual, he may be supposed not to have much time for insuring people's houses. At all events we must beg leave to suggest, that if the emigrant packets alluded to are not better ventilated and better cleaned than they have recently been, it might be well for Mr. Grinnell to get up a life

company also, since he could then insure the passengers against the effects of the bad odor of his ships.

Two other fire companies recently inaugurated—namely, the Croton and the International—seem to promise well; but we have not yet sufficient data within our reach to enable us to give any definite opinion as to the amount of confidence to which either is entitled; although so far as certain external appearances may be regarded as a criterion, we should rather think that both companies have honest intentions.

The Washington Insurance Company, now nearly fourteen years in active operation, continues to make rapid progress in well doing. Its assets amount at the present time to \$600,000. For the last three years its scrip dividend has been sixty per cent. Since the commencement of the participation system it has paid \$200,000 to its stock-holders; and during the last year it paid more than \$50,000 to its profit-sharing patrons. These facts and figures afford the best evidence that the principal officers of the Washington (Fire) fully understand the business of underwriting. We have also to note the steadily increasing evidence of the prosperous condition of the Hope Fire Insurance Company. Thus, for example, it has paid its stock holders the snug sum of \$20,000 in cash, for dividends since the first of January last, besides paying losses to the amount of \$30,000, and there still remained, on the first of July, a net surplus of nearly \$70,000.

There are several companies whose operations seem suspicious, and which we had consequently intended to criticise in this number; but as our last sheets go to press we learn some particulars, which, while they tend to confirm what we had heard previously, are of such a nature as to render it expedient to make a further investigation before making charges and giving names.

We are glad to learn that the facts thus far fully justify our prediction of the success of the Globe Mutual Life Insurance Company. Its operations during the first three months of its existence are fully equal to those of the first year of any of our best companies; and it is now issuing from six to ten policies per day. There are various reasons for the public confidence of which this affords so agreeable an evidence; but it is sufficient to mention here that the president of the Globe Mutual has been longer in the life insurance business than any other underwriter in this country; and that he has combined in his system all the improvements of Europe and America. In a word, the Globe is producing a veritable revolution in life insurance. Two of the several inducements which it offers would be sufficient by themselves to render it highly popular and prosperous; thus, those who have no wives or families can make the amount insured on their lives payable to themselves at the age of fifty, sixty, seventy, &c. Lest they might die before attaining the specified age, they may make the amount payable to whom they wish, in the event of their not surviving;

and what is, perhaps, a still greater advantage, no one forfeits the policy of this company because he is no longer able to pay the annual rate, but will be entitled at any time to an amount proportioned to what he has paid. The best evidence we can give of our own implicit confidence in the new company, is the fact that although we had already insured our life in other companies, we have not hesitated to secure a policy from the Globe.

I N D E X

TO THE

NINTH VOLUME

OF THE

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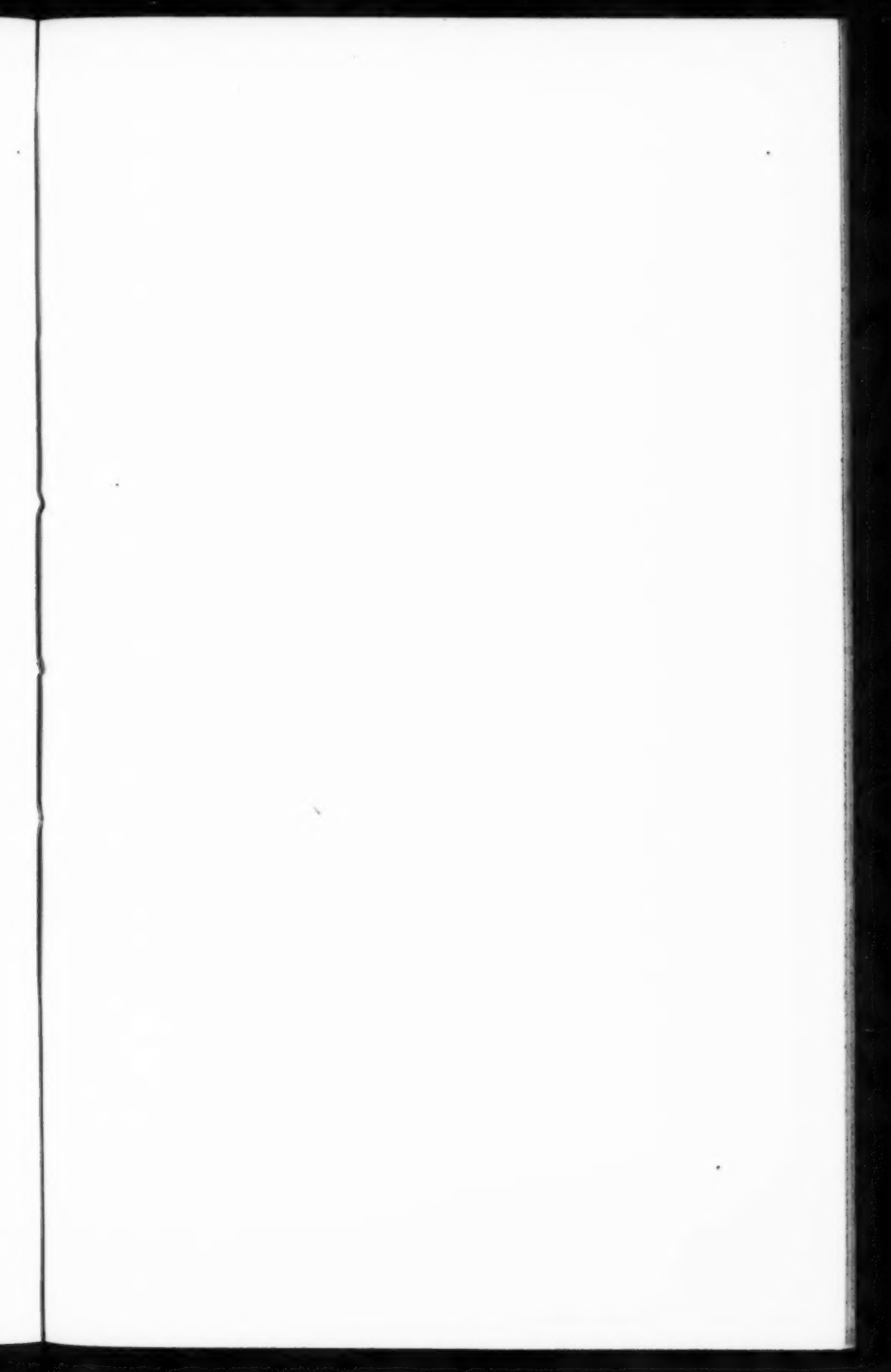
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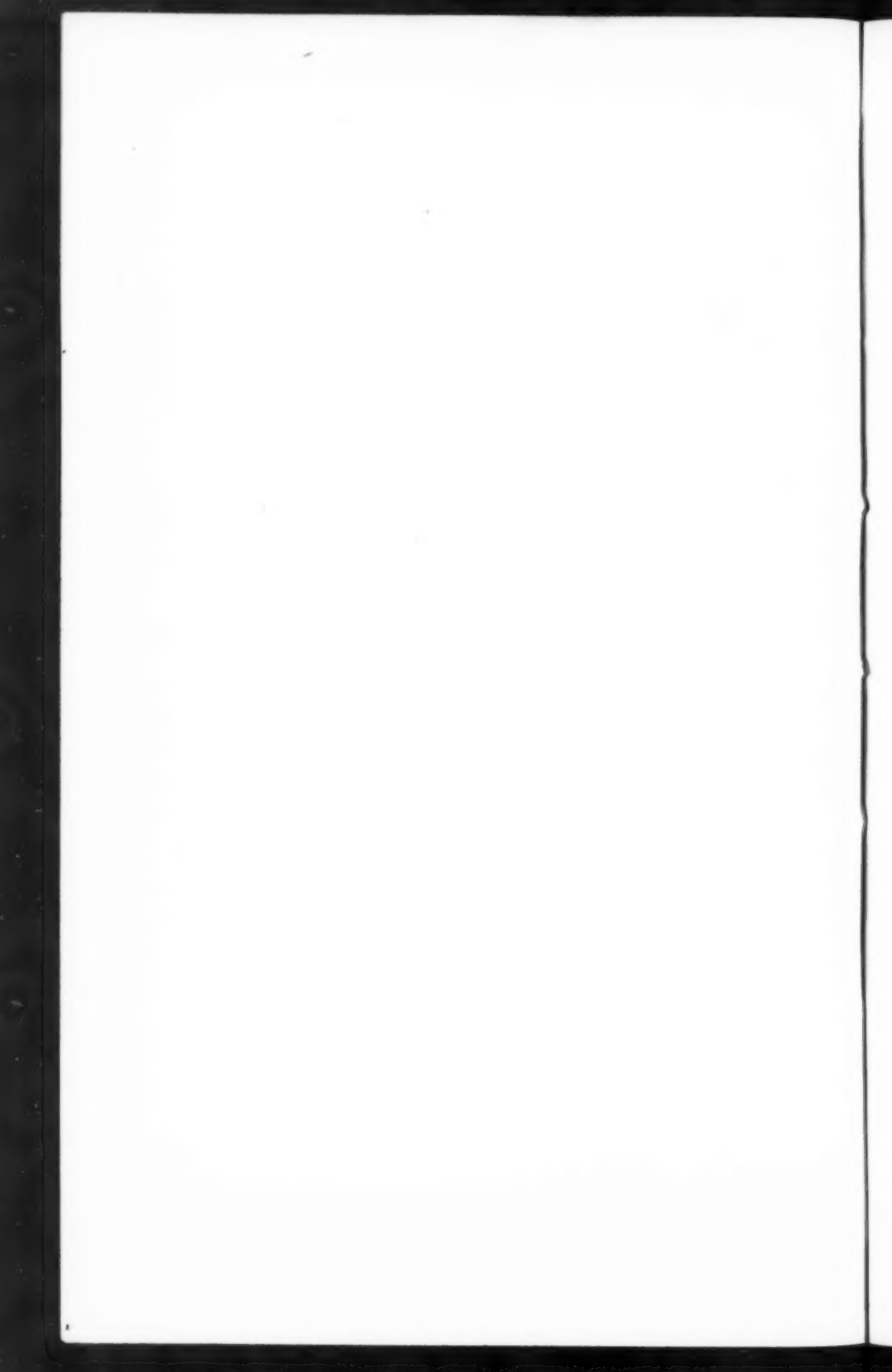
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New York, *January* 29, 1864.

STATEMENT of the affairs of the Company for the sixth fiscal year, ending December 31, 1863 :

Premiums on unexpired risks, December 31, 1862,	\$249,998 17
Premiums received from that date to December 31, 1863	3,002,258 59
Total Amount of Premiums.....	\$3,252,256 76

Premiums marked off, as earned during the year (less Return Premiums), and Interest received on Investments.....	\$2,362,842 02
Losses paid during the year.....	\$1,021,150 50
Re-insurances, Expenses, State and Government Taxes	204,628 19
Excess of Earned Premiums over Losses, &c.....	\$1,137,063 83
Add Undivided Balance of December 31, 1862..	117 68
Reserve for Estimate Claims unadjusted and other contingencies.	441,296 49
	1,137,181 01
	441,296 49

In accordance with the provisions of the Charter of the Company, the Board of Directors have resolved to apply the profits of the year as follows :

Profits to be divided.....	\$695,974 52
Cash Dividend to Dealers holding Certificates of Return, on Premiums earned during the year and paid, payable on and after February 10, 1864...	269,614 80
	426,359 72
Deduct Dividend already paid to Stockholders, being accrued interest (free of Government Tax) on Cash Capital.....	57,895 20
	\$368,464 52
Deduct Interest on Scrip issue of 1862, payable (free of Government Tax) on and after March 10, 1864, being 6 PER CENT. on amount of such issue	1,474 20
	\$366,971 32
Of this residue THIRTY PER CENT. will be paid in Cash to Stockholders, on and after March 10, 1864 (free of Government Tax), as follows : ON OLD STOCK, 12 PER CENT., and on NEW STOCK, 10 PER CENT.....	110,000 00
	\$256,971 32
There will also be a SCRIP DIVIDEND payable (free of Government Tax) on and after June 1, 1864, on the Cash Capital as follows : ON OLD STOCK, 7 PER CENT., and on NEW STOCK, 5 PER CENT., making the total Dividend for the year, paid to Stockholders, equal to 26 PER CENT.	
Payable, in Cash, on and after March 10, 1864, (free of Government Tax,) to Makers of Security Notes, being 4 PER CENT. on amount of such notes.....	1,313 50
	\$255,403 82

Payable in Scrip (free of Government Tax), on and after June 1, 1864, to Dealers on Earned Premiums on Risks terminating without loss (estimated at \$1,700,000), **15 PER CENT.**..... \$255,000 00

Undivided balance..... \$403 82

THE COMPANY HAVE THE FOLLOWING ASSETS :

United States, New York City, and other Stocks.....	\$330,375 00
Accrued Interest, Gold at market value, Salvages and other Securities.....	714,992 61
Cash in Banks and Loans on demand.....	651,517 81
Bills Receivable and Premium Notes.....	1,413,679 94
Scrip of Insurance Companies, Balances due from Agents, and Sundry Claims due the Company.....	30,374 44
Total amount of Assets.....	\$3,140,930 80

TO THE PRESIDENT AND BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE COLUMBIAN INSURANCE CO. :

We hereby certify that we have compared the above Statement with the Balance Sheet of the Company, and the Balance Sheet with its Books, and found them to conform.

We have also examined the Cash Bank Balance, Securities, Bills Receivable, and other Assets, and found them to conform accurately with the above statement made by the Company.

EDWARD ROWE,
JOSEPH MORRISON,
ALBERT G. LEE, } *Committee.*
DAN'L W. TELLER, }

January 29, 1864.

ON AND AFTER 1st FEBRUARY, 1864, Dealers with this Company will be allowed the option (to be signified at the time of application for insurance) of receiving in lieu of scrip, at the end of each year, RETURNS IN CASH (guaranteed by certificate) of premiums paid and earned during the year, whether loss accrues or not, upon all new risks under the NEW YORK FORM OF POLICY, as follows :

1st. Upon all VOYAGE Risks upon CARGO, a return of TWENTY-FIVE PER CENT.

2d. Upon VOYAGE Risks upon FREIGHT, a return of TWENTY PER CENT.

3d. Upon TIME Risks upon FREIGHT, and upon VOYAGE and TIME Risks upon Hulls, a return of TEN PER CENT.

Such privileges, however, being confined to persons and firms, the aggregate of whose premiums upon such policies earned and paid during the year, shall amount to the sum of One Hundred Dollars.

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Offices, Nos. 5 & 7 John street, New York,

(TWO DOORS FROM BROADWAY.)

And 47 North Eighth Street, Philadelphia,

Continue their well-known business of Dyeing, Refinishing, &c.

They devote special attention to the

DYEING OF DRESS GOODS,

of every description, in the piece or in garments.

Broadcloths, Merinoes,

Muslin de Laines, Paramattas,

Silks, Velvets, Bonnet Ribbons,

Trimmings, Fringe,

DYED SUCCESSFULLY.


All kinds of Ladies' Garments dyed in a Superior Manner.

SILK, VELVET, AND OTHER

GARMENTS CLEANSED,

Either made up or ripped apart.

GENTLEMEN'S GARMENTS, COATS, PANTS, ETC., DYED OR CLEANSED.

 Goods received and returned by Express. Only one Office in New York. No office in the city of Brooklyn.

BARRETT NEPHEWS & CO.,

5 & 7 John Street, New York,

Two Doors from Broadway.

OFFICE

OF THE

Mercantile Mutual Insurance Co.,

NO. 35 WALL STREET.

NEW YORK, January 14, 1864.

The following statement of the affairs of the Company on the 31st December, 1863, is submitted in accordance with the provisions of the Charter :

Premiums not marked off December 31, 1863.....	\$212,118 80
Premiums on Policies issued from December 31, 1862, to December 31, 1863.....	1,141,884 79

Total Premiums **\$1,354,003 59**

Premiums marked off as earned December 31, 1863.....	\$1,163,741 64
Less Returns of Premium.....	85,970 60
Net Earned Premiums	\$1,077,771 04

PAID DURING THE SAME PERIOD :

Marine and Inland Losses (including losses by risk of war and estimate of unadjusted losses).....	\$729,061 46
Re-Insurance, expenses, and bad debts, less returns on investments.....	139,902 19
Interest paid to Stockholders for July Dividend, together with interest on Stock, payable in January, 1864, and on outstanding Scrip, payable in February, 1864.....	76,502 60
	945,466 25
Earnings to be Divided	\$132,304 79

The Company had, on the 31st December, 1863, the following Assets:

United States, State, City, and other Securities.....	\$327,480 00
Loans on Stocks and other Securities.....	131,190 00
Bond and Mortgage.....	4,000 00
Cash on hand and in Bank, including Gold Coin at market value.....	99,162 73
Cash in hands of Foreign Bankers.....	81,112 70
Bills Receivable and uncollected Premiums.....	625,927 12
Salvages and sundry Claims due the Company, and Scrip.....	156,089 28
Interest accrued and not collected.....	8,345 72

Total Assets..... **\$1,431,307 53**

The Board of Trustees have resolved to pay an interest of *Six per cent.* on the outstanding certificates of Profits, to the holders thereof, or their legal representatives, on and after Monday, the 8th of February next.

They have also declared a dividend of *Five per cent.* to the Stockholders, payable in cash, on and after Monday, the 8th of February next.

The Trustees have also declared a dividend of *Twelve per cent.* on the net earned Premiums, entitled thereto, for the year ending 31st December, 1863, to be issued in Scrip on and after Monday, the 4th of April next.

T R U S T E E S :

Joseph Walker,	Aaron L. Reid,	Cornelius Grinnell,	Henry R. Kunhardt,
James Freeand,	Ellwood Walter,	E. E. Morgan,	John S. Williams,
Samuel Willets,	C. Golden Murray,	Her. A. Schleicher,	William Neison, Jr.,
Robert L. Taylor,	E. Haydock White,	William Boyd,	Charles Dimes,
William T. Fost,	N. L. McCready,	James D. Fish,	A. William Heye,
William Watt,	Daniel T. Willets,	George W. Hennings,	Harold Dellner,
Henry Eyre,	L. Edgerton,	Francis Hathaway,	Paul N. Spofford,

C. J. DESPARD, Secretary.

ELWOOD WALTER, President,
CHARLES NEWCOMB, Vice-President,

CONTENTS OF DIFFERENT NUMBERS
OF
NATIONAL QUARTERLY REVIEW.

CONTENTS OF NO. III.

December, 1860.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>I.—Lord Bacon.
II.—American Female Novelists.
III.—Campeus and His Translators.
IV.—England under the Stuarts.
V.—Tendencies of Modern Thought.</p> | <p>VI.—A Glance at the Turkish Empire.
VII.—The Greek Tragic Drama—Sophocles.
VIII.—French Romances and American Morals.
IX.—Notices and Criticisms.</p> |
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CONTENTS OF NO. IV.

March, 1861.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>I.—Persian Poetry.
II.—Americanisms.
III.—Mexico. Antiquities.
IV.—Modern Criticism.
V.—Popular Botany.</p> | <p>VI.—The Saracenic Civilization in Spain.
VII.—Motley's United Netherlands.
VIII.—The Lessons of Revolutions.
IX.—Quackery and the Quacked.
X.—Notices and Criticisms.</p> |
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CONTENTS OF NO. V.

June, 1861.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>I.—Ancient Civilization of the Hindoos.
II.—The Jesuits and their Founder.
III.—Jeremy Bentham and His Theory of Legislation.
IV.—Greek Comic Drama—Aristophanes.
V.—Recent French Literature.
VI.—The Canadas, their Position and Destiny.</p> | <p>VII.—The Sciences among the Ancients and Moderns.
VIII.—Danish and Swedish Poetry.
IX.—The Secession Rebellion; why it must be put down.
X.—Notices and Criticisms.</p> |
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CONTENTS OF NO. VI.

September, 1861.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>I.—The Poetical Literature of Spain.
II.—Hans Christian Andersen and His Fairy Legends.
III.—Influence of Music—The Opera.
IV.—The De Saussures and their Writings—Mme. Necker.
V.—Mahomet and the Koran.</p> | <p>VI.—Wills and Will Making.
VII.—Aristotle—His Life, Labors, and Influence.
VIII.—Carthage and the Carthaginians. (Once.)
IX.—Spasmodic Literature—Philip Thaxter.
X.—The Secession Rebellion and its Sympathizers.
XI.—Notices and Criticisms.</p> |
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CONTENTS OF NO. VII.

December, 1861.

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|--|--|
| <p>I.—The Men and Women of Homer.
II.—Fallacies of Buckle's Theory of Civilization.
III.—Burial Customs and Obituary Lore.
IV.—Modern Italian Literature.
V.—Necessity for a General Bankrupt Law.</p> | <p>VI.—Russia on the Way to India.
VII.—Berkeley—His Life and Writings.
VIII.—Count De Cavour.
IX.—The Morals of Trade.
X.—Notices and Criticisms.</p> |
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CONTENTS OF NO. VIII.

March, 1862.

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|---|--|
| <p>I.—Vindication of the Celts.
II.—Dr. Arnold of Rugby.
III.—Female Education; Good, Bad, and Indifferent.
IV.—Christopher Martin Wieland.
V.—Improvements and New Uses of Coal Gas.</p> | <p>VI.—Bombastic Literature.
VII.—Influence of Comparative Philology on Intellectual Development.
VIII.—Our National Defenses.
IX.—The Union, not a League, but a Permanent Government.
X.—Notices and Criticisms.</p> |
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CONTENTS OF NO. IX.

June, 1862.

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|---|--|
| <p>I.—The Chinese Language and Literature.
II.—Angiology and Demonology, Ancient and Modern.
III.—Sir Thomas More and His Times.
IV.—Maud as a Representative Poem.
V.—The Comedies of Molière.
VI.—Education and Unity of Pursuit of the Christian Ministry.</p> | <p>VII.—Sir Philip Sidney.
VIII.—Aurora Leigh.
IX.—Yellow Fever a Worse Enemy to Civilian than to Soldiers.
X.—The National Academy of Design and its Great Men.
XI.—Notices and Criticisms.</p> |
|---|--|

CONTENTS OF NO. X.

September, 1862.

- I.—Lucretius on the Nature of Things.
- II.—The Works and Influence of Goethe.
- III.—Madame de Maintenon and Her Times.
- IV.—Effects of War and Speculation on Currency.
- V.—Sacred Poetry of the Middle Ages.
- VI.—The Laws and Ethics of War.

- VII.—New Theories and New Discoveries in Natural History.
- VIII.—Poland—Causes and Consequences of Her Fall.
- IX.—Quackery of Insurance Companies.
- X.—Notices and Criticisms.

CONTENTS OF NO. XI.

December, 1862.

- I.—The Arts and Sciences among the Ancient Egyptians.
- II.—New England and Individualism.
- III.—Genius, Talent and Tact.
- IV.—Ought our Great Atlantic Cities be Fortified.
- V.—The Writings and Loves of Robert Burns.

- VI.—André and Arnold.
- VII.—Bacon as an Essayist.
- VIII.—Publishers, Good, Bad, and Indifferent.
- IX.—Direct and Indirect Taxes at Home and Abroad.
- X.—Notices and Criticisms.

CONTENTS OF NO. XII.

March, 1863.

- I.—The Works and Influence of Schiller.
- II.—Astronomical Theories.
- III.—Culture of the Human Voice.
- IV.—Lucien and His Times.
- V.—Electro-Magnetism and Kindred Sciences.

- VI.—Orators and Eloquence.
- VII.—Insurance Quackery and Its Organs.
- VIII.—Charlemagne and His Times.
- IX.—James Sheridan Knowles.
- X.—Notices and Criticisms.

CONTENTS OF NO. XIII.

June, 1863.

- I.—The Greek Tragic Drama—Æschylus.
- II.—Theology of the American Indians.
- III.—Idiographic Short Hand.
- IV.—Arabic Language and Literature.
- V.—Earthquakes—Their Causes and Consequences.

- VI.—Manhattan College.
- VII.—Woman—Her Influence and Capabilities.
- VIII.—Peruvian Antiquities.
- IX.—Manufacture and Use of Artificial Precious Stones.
- X.—Notices and Criticisms.

CONTENTS OF NO. XIV.

September, 1863.

- I.—The Insane and their Treatment, Past and Present.
- II.—The Clubs of London.
- III.—Cowper and His Writings.
- IV.—Feudalism and Chivalry.
- V.—Meteors.
- VI.—Spuriousness and Charlatanism of Chronology.

- VII.—The Public Schools of New York.
- VIII.—Ancient Scandinavia and its Inhabitants.
- IX.—Social Condition of Working Classes in England.
- X.—Commencements of Colleges, Seminars, &c.
- XI.—Notices and Criticisms.

CONTENTS OF NO. XV.

December, 1863.

- I.—Prison Discipline, Past and Present.
- II.—Richard Brinsley Sheridan.
- III.—Influence of the Medici.
- IV.—Girard College and Its Founder.
- V.—Modern Civilization.
- VI.—Laplace and His Discoveries.

- VII.—The House of Hapsburg.
- VIII.—The Mexicans and their Revolutions, from Iturbide to Maximilian.
- IX.—The Gypsies, their History and Character.
- X.—Notices and Criticisms.

CONTENTS OF NO. XVI.

March, 1864.

- I.—Source and Characteristic of Hindoo Civilization.
- II.—Juvenal on the Decadence of Rome.
- III.—The Brazilian Empire.
- IV.—Catime and His Conspiracy.
- V.—Klopstock as a Lyric and Epic Poet.

- VI.—Our Quack Doctors and their Performances.
- VII.—Kepler and His Discoveries.
- VIII.—Ancient and Modern Belief in a Future Life.
- IX.—Notices and Criticisms.

CONTENTS OF NO. XVII.

June, 1864.

- I.—Pythagoras and His Philosophy.
- II.—History and Resources of Maryland.
- III.—Russian Literature, Past and Present.
- IV.—Cemeteries and Modes of Burial, Ancient and Modern.
- V.—College of the Holy Cross.

- VI.—Leibnitz as a Philosopher and Discoverer.
- VII.—The Negro and the White Man in Africa.
- VIII.—Our Presidents and Governors Compared to Kings and Petty Princes.
- IX.—Notices and Criticisms.

SAFEST AND CHEAPEST SYSTEM OF INSURANCE.

Scrip Dividend for 1861—60 per cent.

Scrip Dividend for 1862—60 per cent.

Scrip Dividend for 1863—60 per cent.

STATEMENT OF THE

WASHINGTON INSURANCE COMPANY.

Cash Capital, - - - - \$400,000

Assets, February 1st, 1864 :

U. S. Bonds (market value) - - -	\$253,590 00
Bonds and Mortgages, - - -	132,445 50
Demand Loans - - -	104,760 00
Cash on hand and in the hands of Agents, -	14,022 55
Real Estate, - - -	35,048 45
Miscellaneous - - -	45,269 95

\$585,136 45

Unsettled Claims, - - - - 2,326 00

Capital and Surplus, - - - - \$582,810 45

A Dividend of (8) Eight per cent. is this day declared, payable on demand, in cash, to Stockholders.

Also an Interest Dividend of (6) Six per cent. on outstanding scrip, payable 15th instant.

ALSO,

A Dividend of (60) Sixty per cent. on the earned premiums of policies entitled to participate in the profits of the year ending 31st January, 1864. The scrip will be ready for delivery on and after 15th March prox.

GEO. C. SATTERLEE, *President,*

H. WESTON, *Vice-President.*

WM. K. LOTHROP, *Secretary.*

WM. A. SCOTT, *Ass't Secretary.*

NEW YORK, February 2, 1864.

NEW YORK AND PHILADELPHIA.



The Camden and Amboy, and Philadelphia
and Trenton Railroad Co.'s Lines.

FROM PHILADELPHIA TO NEW YORK,
AND WAY PLACES,

FROM WALNUT STREET WHARF.

LEAVE AS FOLLOWS, VIZ :

At 6 and 8, A. M., 12, M., and 1, 2, 6, and 7.45, P. M.

FROM KENSINGTON DEPOT,

At 1.50 and 11.15, A. M., and 4.30 and 6.45, P. M.

Lines from New York for Philadelphia.

Leave from foot of Cortlandt st. at 12, M., and 4, P. M., via Jersey City and Camden. At 7 and 10, A. M., 6, P. M., and 12 (night), via Jersey City and Kensington.

From foot of Barclay st. at 6, A. M., and 2, P. M., via Amboy and Camden.

From Pier No. 1, North River, at 12, M., 4 and 8, P. M. (Freight and Passenger), Amboy and Camden.

New York and Washington.

Leave New York, foot of Cortlandt st., at 8 and 10, A. M., and 7.30, P. M., and 12, night.

Leave Washington at 7 and 10.45, A. M., and 5 and 7.30, P. M.

WM. H. GATZMER, Agent.

Direct Railroad Route

BETWEEN

NEW YORK AND WASHINGTON

VIA

Camden and Amboy and New Jersey Railroads,

PHILADELPHIA, WILMINGTON, & BALTIMORE R.R.,

AND

Washington Branch Railroad.

NEW ARRANGEMENT.

On and after January 5th, 1864, Trains will leave as follows:

TRAINS MOVING SOUTH FROM NEW YORK.

Leave New York 7 A. M., 10 A. M., 7.30 P. M., and 11.30 P. M.

Leave Philadelphia 11.35 A. M., 3 P. M., 12 midnight, and 4 A. M.

Arrive at Washington 5.30 P. M., 9.41 P. M., 6 A. M., 9.45 A. M.

TRAINS MOVING NORTH FROM WASHINGTON.

Leave Washington 8 A. M., 11.15 A. M., 3 P. M., and 6.30 P. M.

Leave Philadelphia 3 P. M., 6.15 P. M., 11.15 P. M., 1.30 A. M.

Arrive at New York 7 P. M., 10.15 P. M., 3 A. M., and 5.30 A. M.

WM. STEARNS, Superintendent,

P., W. and B. Railroad.

Philadelphia, Jan. 5, 1864.

ERIE RAILWAY.

The Great Broad Gauge Double Track Route
FROM NEW YORK

To all principal points South, Southwest, West,
and Northwest.

THE SHORTEST ROUTE.

BY 22 MILES, TO

DUNKIRK OR BUFFALO.

Running through without change of Cars.

An advantage possessed by no other Line.

Baggage Checked through, and Rates of Fare always as low

AS BY ANY OTHER ROUTE.

Ask for Tickets via **ERIE RAILWAY,**

Which can be procured at the

Company's Office, 240 Broadway,

And depots foot of Chambers street, and Long Dock, Jersey City.

CHARLES MINOT,

Gen'l Sup't.

WM. R. BARR,

Gen'l Passenger Agent.

TRAVEL.

FOR BOSTON AND THE WHITE MOUNTAINS DAILY.

NORWICH AND WORCESTER LINE.

The new and magnificent Steamer
CITY OF BOSTON,

WM. WILLCOX, Commander,

Will leave Pier No. 39, foot of Vestry street, North River, every

TUESDAY, THURSDAY, AND SATURDAY.

The new and magnificent Steamer
CITY OF NEW YORK,

THOMAS G. JEWETT, Commander,

EVERY MONDAY, WEDNESDAY, AND FRIDAY,
at 5 o'clock, P. M.

Baggage checked through the entire route. Freight taken at the lowest rates.
For further information, inquire of

E. S. MARTIN, Agent, Pier 39, North River.

Ed. These are the only Steamers having water-tight compartments through the Sound.

SEMI-MONTHLY
STEAM COMMUNICATION
WITH
NEW ORLEANS & HAVANA.

OUR REGULAR LINE

FOR

NEW ORLEANS DIRECT

Is now fully re-established.

Each vessel carries the United States Mail. An idea may be formed of the character of the rest from that of the COLUMBIA, D. B. Burton, Commander, which has just sailed ; for there is no steamer more popular with the traveling public.

Passengers going by this line will avoid the rigid quarantine imposed in New Orleans on vessels which touch at Havana on their way out.

OUR STEAMERS FOR HAVANA

sail at about the same intervals. There is no safer vessel than the new side-wheel steamship EAGLE, 2,000 tons burthen, R. Adams, U. S. N., Commander. Her superior sailing qualities are well known ; and she is completely armed with rifled cannon, and manned with United States seamen.

☞ Timely notice is given in the daily papers of the days of sailing of the vessels on each line.

☞ Passengers must procure their passports before securing passage.

☞ No bills of lading signed on the day of sailing.

N. B.—All letters must pass through the Post-office.

For Freight or Passage, apply to

SPOFFORD, TILESTON & CO.,

29 BROADWAY.

KINSLEY & CO.'S EASTERN & SOUTHERN EXPRESS.

BANK NOTES, SPECIE, MERCHANDISE, and Parcels
of every description, forwarded East and South with dispatch.

Notes, Drafts, and Bills collected, and prompt returns.

PARCELS FOR SOLDIERS

At Washington, Alexandria, Falmouth, Newport News, Fortress
Monroe, Norfolk,

And all places occupied by Union forces, forwarded daily,

BY STEAMER EVERY WEEK,

FOR

Newbern, Port Royal, Hilton Head, &c.

72 Broadway, N. Y.

11 State Street, Boston,

341 Chestnut Street, Phila.

AUSTIN BALDWIN & CO.,

Shippers and Forwarders,

DEALERS IN FOREIGN EXCHANGE, AND GENERAL EUROPEAN AGENCY,

PROPRIETORS OF THE

AMERICAN-EUROPEAN EXPRESS,

In connection with the "Globe Parcel Express," of Great Britain,
and "Overland Express" to India and China.

No. 72 Broadway, New York.

PRINCIPAL AGENCIES.

WHEATLEY, STARR & CO.	150 Cheapside, LONDON.
STAVELEY & STARR.	9 Chapel street, LIVERPOOL.
LHERRETTE, KANE & CO.,	21 Rue Corneille, HAVRE.
LHERRETTE, KANE & CO.,	8 Place de la Bourse, PARIS.
JAMES R. McDONALD & CO.,	HAMBURG.
KONITZKY & THIERMANN,	BRERMEN.
AUGUSTE ANDRE.	ANTWERP.
JOHN FIDHINGTON,	BRUSSELS.
W. & J. BUTLER,	GAIWAY.
J. H. WOLFF & CO.,	SOUTHAMPTON.
STONE & DOWNER, AGTS.,	28 State street, BOSTON.
H. L. LEAF, AGT.,	320 Chestnut street, PHILADELPHIA.
JOHN Q. A. HERRING, AGT.,	164 Baltimore street, BALTIMORE.

NINETEENTH ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

NEW YORK LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY,

Nos. 112 and 114 BROADWAY.

Amount of Assets January 1, 1878.....	\$2,486,246 07
Amount of Premiums, Endowments, Annuities, and Policy Fees, received during 1863.....	\$1,016,460 22
Amount of Interest received and accrued.....	136,851 73
Amount of pre-payments by Agents.....	8,879 24—1,162,191 19
Total	\$3,748,437 26

DISBURSEMENTS.

Paid Losses by Death.....	\$295,850 00
Paid for Redemption of Dividends, Interest on Dividends, Annuities, and Surrendered and Canceled Policies.....	104,246 81
Premiums and Interest due on Southern Policies, and balance due from Southern Agents, and others—charged to Profit and Loss.....	236,126 04
Premium Notes canceled on same and others.....	232,941 82
Paid Salaries, Rent, Printing, and Office Expenses.....	44,808 15
Paid Commissions and Agency Expenses.....	151,816 28
Paid Advertising and Physician's Fees.....	21,843 98
Paid Taxes, Internal Revenue Stamps, and Law expenses.....	7,266 23—1,094,899 34

ASSETS.

Cash on hand and in Bank.....	\$101,136 50
Invested in United States Stocks, cost.....	794,510 43
(Market value, \$827,782.).....	
Invested in New York City Bank Stocks, cost.....	82,561 50
(Market value, \$72,742.).....	
Invested in other Stocks, cost.....	54,892 50
(Market value, \$72,742.).....	
Loans on demand, secured by U. S. and other Stocks.....	96,400 00
(Market value, \$137,279.50.).....	
Real Estate (112 and 114 Broadway).....	117,305 69
Bonds and Mortgages, bearing 7 per cent. interest.....	379,430 00
Premium Notes on existing Policies drawing interest.....	823,477 50
Quarterly and Semi-Annual Premiums due subsequent to Jan. 1, '64.....	112,147 51
Interest accrued to Jan. 1, 1864.....	54,407 37
Rents accrued to January 1, 1864.....	1,603 05
Premiums on Policies in hands of Agents, and in course of trans- mission.....	61,465 48
Amount of all other property belonging to the Company.....	2,289 39—2,653,537 92

The Trustees have declared a Scrip Dividend of THIRTY-FIVE PER CENT. upon all participating Life Policies now in force, which were issued twelve months prior to January 1, 1864, and a payment in cash, on and after the first Monday in March next, of the fourth installment of 10 per cent., upon dividends heretofore declared from 1850 to 1860 inclusive, to those holding certificates, UPON PRESENTATION AT THE HOME OFFICE. Those having credits will be allowed the same upon their notes at the settlement of next premium.

By order of the Board.

WILLIAM H. BEER^s, Actuary.

Balance Sheet of the Company, January 1st, 1864.

Assets as above.....	\$2,653,537 92
Disposed of as follows:	
Amount of Adjusted Losses, due subsequent to Jan. 1, 1864.....	\$42,200 00
Amount of Reported Losses awaiting proofs, &c.....	55,000 00
Reserved for Surety Liabilities, due to Agents and others.....	9,171 70
Amount reserved for Re-insurance of all Existing Policies (valua- tions at 4 per cent. interest).....	1,735,126 93
Special reserve for any increase of mortality beyond the tables, Extra Risks and other contingencies.....	131,756 30
Dividend Interest remaining unpaid.....	7,850 04
Dividends declared prior to 1850 unpaid.....	6,417 00
Present value of Dividends, 1850 to 1860 inclusive (valuation at 4 per cent. interest).....	287,627 18
Do. do. 1861.....	71,205 00
Do. do. 1862.....	68,636 00
Do. do. 1863.....	79,385 00
Do. do. 1864.....	124,288 00
Undivided Surplus.....	23,849 60—\$2,653,537 92

MORRIS FRANKLIN, Pres't.

ISAAC C. KENDALL, Vice-Pres't.

WILLIAM H. BEERS, Actuary.

T. M. BANTA, Cashier.

CORNELIUS R. BOGART, M. D.,

GEORGE WILKES, M. D.,

} Medical Examiners.

KNICKERBOCKER
LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY,
OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK,
OFFICE No. 161 BROADWAY.
PURELY MUTUAL.

To parties seeking Life Insurance this Company offers superior inducements. Its per cent. of Assets to Liabilities, according to the reports of the Insurance Commissioners of New York and Massachusetts, is, exclusive of capital, **\$136.15**, being greater than that of any other New York Company.

Dividends are paid in cash, or added to the policy, as the assured may elect, and a note will be taken for a portion of the Annual Premium if desired.

Policies issued upon all the various plans at the established rates of all first class Companies.

HOPE
FIRE INSURANCE COMPANY,
No. 92 Broadway, New York.

CASH CAPITAL, - - \$200,000.

NET SURPLUS, July 1, 1864, \$67,287.02.

This Company issues Policies of Insurance on the most favorable terms.

THOMAS GREENLEAF, *Secretary.*

JACOB REESE, *President.*

CHARLES D. HARTSHORNE, *Assistant Secretary.*

EQUITABLE
LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY
 OF THE UNITED STATES,
No. 92 Broadway, New York.

ASSETS, \$500,000.

All the Profits are divided among the Policy-holders.

The success of this Society has not been equalled by that of any Life Company ever organized, either in this country or Europe. Its Cash Premium Receipts are larger than those of any Life Insurance Company conducted on the Cash Plan in this country, with only one exception.

NOTE.—Many companies distribute a large portion of their earnings among their Stock holders, thus diverting a very large amount from the policy-holders. The EQUITABLE LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY divides its WHOLE PROFITS, *pro rata*, among the Assured—legal interest only being paid upon its capital, which, by investment, reproduces nearly the same amount. The Society thus offers all the advantages of a PURELY MUTUAL and of a STOCK COMPANY. The Assured have ALL THE PROFITS; there is a guaranty of a PERPETUAL CAPITAL STOCK; and its Directors have DIRECT FINANCIAL INTEREST in managing its affairs with PRUDENCE and ECONOMY.

OFFICERS.

EDW. W. LAMBERT, M. D., *Medical Examiner.*
 WILLARD PARKER, M. D., *Consulting Physician.*
 GEORGE W. PHILLIPS, *Actuary.*
 HENRY DAY, *Attorney.*
 DANIEL LORD, *Counsel.*

WILLIAM C. ALEXANDER, *President.*
 HENRY B. HYDE, *Vice-President.*

Physician attends at the office from 12 to 1 o'clock. Medical examination may be made at his office, 330 Sixth Avenue. Office hours from 8 to 10, A. M., and from 6 to 8 o'clock, P. M.

Office—No. 92 Broadway, New York.

UNITED STATES LIFE INSURANCE CO.,
IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK,
No. 40 WALL STREET.

JOSEPH B. COLLINS, PRESIDENT.

Assets Exceed One Million of Dollars.

Profits Divided Every Three Years.

N. G. DEGROOT, *Actuary.*

JOHN EADIE, *Secretary.*

JAMES W. G. CLEMENTS, M.D., *Medical Examiner* (Residence 19 Amity Street), at the Office daily from 12 to 1½ o'clock, P. M.

WILLIAM DETMOLD, M.D., *Consulting Physician.*

J. B. GATES, General Agent, and JAMES STEWART, HENRY PERRY, ALBERT O. WILLCOX, A. WHITNEY, HIRAM P. CROZIER, GRENVILLE R. BENSON, CHARLES NORTHSHIELD, and ALFRED PINNEY, Local Agents, in the City of New York and vicinity.

GRAND HOTEL DU LOUVRE,
RUE RIVOLI,
AND
GRAND HOTEL,
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THE NATIONAL QUARTERLY REVIEW.

The liberal increasing patronage extended to our Journal affords us the most gratifying proof that in exposing snags of all kinds, we enjoy the approbation of the educated and enlightened in all parts of the country. Nor have we to rely on mere inference. Were we to avail ourselves of private letters emphatically commending our course, we could fill columns with the briefest extracts from those of distinguished men and women, including authors, artists, lawyers, clergymen of different denominations, chancellors and professors of colleges, principals of academies, seminaries and schools.

While it affords none more pleasure to do justice to the merits of a good book, we shall continue to criticise those of the opposite character. A notice in a paper which must necessarily be brief may be more appreciative than the character of the work noticed deserves, and yet not imply any dishonesty or bad faith on the part of the editor; but none know better than our book publishers that if a quarterly does not make some attempt at separating the wheat from the chaff, but praises every book it notices, it is simply a *puffing* machine, not a *Review*. As to any hostile feeling on the part of the editor towards the publishing fraternity, he certainly entertains none; on the contrary, there is no fraternity he likes better, or among whom, in proportion to their number, he has so many esteemed friends.

Education in every form, including Art and Science, will receive prominent and friendly attention in the "NATIONAL QUARTERLY;" and whatever seems calculated to retard or vitiate it, whether under the name of a text-book, a painting, a seminary, a gallery, or a college, will be subjected to fearless, but fair and temperate criticism.

Once more the editor returns his sincere thanks to the daily and weekly press for the cheering words with which it has received every number, from the first to the last issued. Among the more intelligent and respectable class of American journals we do not know of a single one that has spoken of our journal in any other terms than those of approbation and encouragement; and never were kind words more disinterestedly spoken. The editor is also indebted to several of the ablest journals of Great Britain, France, and British America, for very flattering estimates of his labors.

From a large number of reviews and notices by leading journals, foreign and domestic, the following brief extracts are selected:

Mr. Sears published his first number, and the public at once saw that a youthful Hercules had entered the field as a Quarterly Reviewer. The succeeding tri-monthly issues of the *National Quarterly* have fully maintained the reputation which was thus won at the first grasp. This Review certainly stands now at the head of American critical literature, and is so esteemed in Europe. In its political articles it has been consistently and thoroughly loyal—not indulging in showy and verbose declamation, but giving logical reasons for its faith. It has fearlessly exposed charlatanism and quackery—whether in science, literature, insurance companies, phrenology, or medicine. * * * Enumerates the vast quantities of nostrums and their deleterious effects; exposes the book-making processes of their vendors; anatomizes their advertisements and treatises; examines their testimonials; exposes the outrages upon public decency which some journals publish because quacks pay for them; and generally dissects the system.—*Philadelphia Press*.

The University of New York, has conferred upon Mr. E. I. SEARS, A. M., the degree of LL. D. This title is well bestowed, and in this case reflects credit on the institution.—*New York Home Journal*.

The University of the city of New York, which some two years ago equally honored itself and acknowledged the eminent merit of a very able writer and sound scholar, by conferring the degree of Master of Arts upon Edward I. SEARS, Esq., editor and proprietor of the *National Quarterly Review* has still further carried out its purpose by presenting him with the degree of Doctor of Laws.—*Philadelphia Press*.

The University of the city of New York has conferred the degree of LL. D. on E. I. SEARS, Esq., the learned and accomplished editor of the *National Quarterly Review*. A compliment well deserved by profound erudition and successful labor in the field of literature.—*Boston Post*.

In the article on "Quack Doctors" a number of names well known to the public are rather roughly handled. The article on Brazil contains a large amount of valuable information relative to a country which must, in time, become far more closely connected with our own than at present.—*N. Y. Evening Post*.

But the one that will most attract attention this month is that upon Quack Doctors and their Performances. These men have, like the seven plagues of Egypt, literally infested the land; and they infest it now. A spear of an Ithuriel is necessary to shatter their whitened sepulchres, and let the pure air in upon them, and cleanse them. The author takes them up and handles them as they deserve, and comes to the conclusion that they have slain more of the Saxon race than war, pestilence, and famine for the past few years. He tells us one thing that we are ashamed to know to be a fact, and that is, that some of them have changed their headquarters of humbugging from London to New York, because they find the Americans a more gullible people than Englishmen. We hope Mr. Sears will continue this battle and clear out the Augean stable.—*Boston Post*.

* * More than a year ago we ranked it with the best of our own Quarterlies, and it has certainly not lagged since in ability or vigor. * * —*London Daily News*.

This rising periodical approaches nearer in design and execution to the great English standards, the *Edinburgh*, the *Westminster*, the *London Quarterly*, Blackwood's, the *Dublin University*, &c., than any other American magazine or review.—*Philadelphia North American*.

In our literary history there is no parallel to the rapid progress made by the *National Quarterly* in public estimation, and this fact is in itself a refutation of the oft-repeated assertion, that a first class Review would never succeed in the United States. Mr. Sears has disproved this assertion, and we are glad to perceive, from the extracted notices from foreign as well as domestic journals, that his varied, profound, graceful and scholarly review is properly estimated by the American and European press.—*Metropolitan Record*.

* * It is creditable to our transatlantic friends to sustain a journal which, like the *National Quarterly*, possesses the courage to unmask false pretensions, and both the ability and disposition to improve the public taste. * * —*Edinburgh Scotsman*.

* * The number begins a new year of the *Quarterly*, and will draw attention to its marked claims on public patronage. * * —*Boston Transcript*.

* * Scholarship, directness in treatment and method, and clearness of style, mark every page of this valuable journal. It is as readable as a novel and instructive as *Euclid*.—*New Yorker*.

* * All learnedly treated, and show research not often found in our periodicals. * * —*New York Daily Times*.

* * We have been much interested in witnessing the steady advance of this new periodical. It combines great learning with vigor of style and fearless utterance. * * —*Boston Journal*.

We have taken occasion more than once to speak of the ability with which this *Quarterly* is conducted, and have remarked its superiority in one thing over every other a cular work of the kind in the English language. That one thing is its candor, which is manifested in its freedom from prejudice of all sorts, and its disposition to respect and promulgate truth, no matter whose propositions may be shocked thereby. It does not wed itself to a theory, religious, historical or other, and then set to work to bend its arguments to suit its formula, but as every Review should, gives free play to everything that serves to establish facts on their true basis, and eradicate the misconceptions of its readers on points which early training or other causes may have given root to.—*Baltimore Catholic Mirror*.

We relish the incisive discussions, which are a prominent feature in the *Quarterly*, of the "sensation novels," and the very dirty accompanying phrases of publishers' and critics' operations, and its energetic exposure of sundry impudent translations of French novels. The critical department is unusually full and careful, especially upon educational books. * * Its critical estimates of moral and literary merits and demerits are honest, clear, and almost always trustworthy, often accurate and original.—*New York Independent*.

We yesterday received the March number of this able and interesting periodical, and find it the equal to its predecessors—which is as high an encomium as we can pronounce. We have carefully perused every number of this work, since its commencement, and find it to equal in interest any of the foreign, and far superior to any other American Quarterly. It reminds us of that able and liberal publication, the *Westminster Review*; and we feel confident that it is destined to play as conspicuous a role in science and literature as its English contemporary.—*Nashville Union*.

• • The review of "Our Quack Doctors and their Performances" is a cleverly written and scathing *exposé* of the tricks by which medical impostors contrive to gull weak-minded and nervous people out of their money, and will create quite a fluttering among the confraternity.—*N. Y. Herald*.

• • Four bien apprecier cet écrivain il faut le comparer à ses devanciers dans la littérature critique Américaine, et l'on verra quel pas immense qu'il fit faire. • • —*La Presse, Paris*.

The tone of this "Review" is hardly such as can be pleasing to Irishmen, and more especially to Catholic Irishmen. Yet there is sufficient attraction in the style in which its articles are written that cannot but be admired. • • Some other papers in the "Review" are worth reading, if it were only to study and trace the train of thought and style of reasoning which are to be found in them.—*Dublin Nation*.

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Boston, Oct. 30, 1859.

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Gentlemen: I have used your Cocaine about six weeks, and its effect is so marked and extraordinary that I deem it my duty to state it to you.

My worst complaint for several years has been *Dandruff*, with itching and irritation of the scalp. After brushing my hair, my coat collar would be covered with the white scales (*dandruff*), which looked like a shower of snow.

My barber tried various applications without effect. His abuse of your Cocaine, and his obstinate refusal to use it, provoked me to procure and try it.

I have used less than a bottle. The dandruff, and the irritation which caused it, have entirely disappeared, and my hair was never before in so good a condition.

Your obedient servant,

A. A. FULLER.

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Boston, November 24, 1859.

Gentlemen: When I first used your Cocaine, I had been bald seven years. In the mean time I had tried a dozen different preparations, specially recommended for baldness (and all claiming to be infallible) without any beneficial effect.

The ladies of my household urged me to try your Cocaine, which I did, to please them, not having, myself, any faith in the power of man to restore my hair. I have used the contents of one bottle and my bald pate is covered all over with young hair, about three-eighths of an inch long, which appears strong and healthy, and determined to grow.

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By the advice of my physician, to whom you had shown your process of purifying the Oil, I commenced its use the last week in June. The first application allayed the itching and irritation; in three or four days the redness and tenderness disappeared—the hair ceased to fall, and I have now a thick growth of new hair. I trust that others similarly afflicted will be induced to try the same remedy.

Yours, very truly,

SUSAN R. POPE.

Irritation of the Scalp.

WATERVILLE, Me., Sept. 15, 1860.

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Dear Sirs: I deem it but just to state to you some of the benefits I have derived from the use of your Cocaine. Twelve years ago I had the typhus fever; after my recovery I found myself troubled with an irritation of the scalp, which had continued to annoy me very much, and to alleviate it I had failed to find a remedy.

Having seen your Cocaine advertised, I purchased a bottle only for the purpose of a hair dressing; but to my surprise, it has entirely removed the irritation of so long standing. Deriving so much benefit from its use, I have recommended it to several of my friends, who were afflicted in the same way, and it has wholly eradicated the disease.

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